

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/13/65

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Handwritten:
HORN
FOUR

ReNYairtel, 10/29/65, reflecting that a group of CP functionaries was scheduled to go to Moscow on 10/28/65 and 11/3/65 respectively, among whom were THOMAS and ELLEN DENNIS of Detroit, and PHILLIP and ROSE BRUNS of Minneapolis.

On 12/13/65, CG 5824-S*, currently in NYC, advised that THOMAS DENNIS and his wife, ELLEN, had arrived in NY on their return from abroad on 12/12/65, and was scheduled to return to Detroit on that date.

Also, according to CG 5824-S*, PHILLIP BRUNS and his wife, ROSE BRUNS, of Minneapolis, had also arrived in NY from abroad, and are scheduled to return to Minneapolis within the next few days.

The above information is being transmitted to the Detroit and Minneapolis Offices respectively.

- 100-428091 (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM-RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:rvs
(7)

REC 58

100-428091-5 274

10 DEC 17 1965

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

65 DEC 27 1965

FBI
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/13/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO
IS-C

ReBuairtel dated 12/10/65 relative to informant coverage of the joint CP, USA - CP of Canada Marxist training school scheduled to be held in Toronto, Canada, from 1/3/66 to 3/28/66.

Chicago has instructed CG 5824-S* to be constantly alert to ascertain the identities of CP, USA members selected to attend this school. In the event any Chicago informants are given the opportunity to take part in this school, we will insure that every step is taken to assure that nothing stands in the way of their attendance.

As you are aware, a number of individuals have been mentioned by CG 5824-S* as having been under consideration for attendance as CP, USA representatives at this school. The individuals mentioned were uniformly of relatively high position in the CP, USA Districts. In view of the closely held nature of the information concerning the existence of this school, there is little that can be done in a positive manner to place informants in the way of an invitation to this school. Since the CP, USA leadership apparently intends to select for attendance individuals from the higher level of their cadre,

③-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW
(5)

EX-112 REC-58

100-428091-5275
to DEC 16 1965

Approved: mg
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 DEC 27 1965

CG 134-46 Sub B

selection will be limited to a comparatively small number of members of the CP, USA. Nevertheless, we will follow the situation closely so that should an invitation be extended to one of our high level informants, everything possible will be done to assure such informant's attendance.

Since the Bureau instructions in this matter were furnished to Chicago and New York under the caption of "SOLO," the Chicago Office would suggest that the Bureau may wish to consider alerting other logical offices from which candidates for this school may be forthcoming. It is noted that in a previous communication it has been noted that there is expected to be but ten students from each Party attending this school.

If not already arranged by the Bureau, it is suggested that the Bureau may wish to consider making arrangements with the [redacted] to provide coverage of this school at [redacted]

b7D

DIRECTOR, FBI (65-65465)
(ATT: VOUCHER STATISTICAL SECTION)

12/7/65

SAC, NEW YORK (65-17695)

TRANS
ESP - R
"Request For Automatic Data
Processing Unit Service"
(OO: NY)

On 11/18/65, NY 694-S* received \$215,000.00
consisting of \$100.00, \$50.00 and \$20.00 notes from the
Soviets.

Xerox copies of this money have been furnished to
the Bureau by separate communication dated, 11/24/65,
captioned, "SOLO, IS-C" (Bufile 100-423091) to be programmed
by automatic processing unit.

The NYO for this reason, has not included the
serial numbers of this money in the index maintained in
captioned case, and no analysis of this money has been made
by the NYO.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
① - 100-423091 (SOLO)
1 - New York: (100-134637) (SOLO)
1 - New York

GAP:mss
(5)

83 DEC 22 1965

100-428071-

NOT RECORDED
165 DEC 9 1965

ORIGINAL FILED IN 65-65465-1247

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☒
Casper ☒
Callahan ☒
Conrad ☒
Felt ☒
Gale ☒
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☒
Trotter ☒
Tele. Room ☒
Holmes ☒
Gandy ☒

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 13, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *fb*

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

My memorandum of 8/31/65, contained information furnished by CG 5824-S* relative to the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. CG 5824-S*, through his contact with officials of the international communist movement, learned that the most popular contender for the leadership of the Soviet Party was Aleksandr N. Shelepin, the youngest member of the Secretariat. CG 5824-S* advised that Shelepin was the most popular member of the Secretariat and "everyone is praising him to the sky and talking about him." This information furnished by CG 5824-S* was disseminated to the White House, Secretary of State, the Attorney General and Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

It is interesting to note that current press reports concerning the recent shuffle in the Soviet high command have reported that Shelepin has been assigned to an influential job at the top level of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Shelepin has been elevated to the positions of Deputy Premier and Head of the Committee for Party and State Control. Communist sources have indicated Shelepin would take the number two post formerly held by Nikolai V. Podgorney, who was recently made Chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The number two post is second to Leonid I. Brezhnev, Chief of the Secretariat, the most powerful unit in the Soviet Union.

OBSERVATION:

This is another instance where through our Solo operation we have been in the position to be aware of developments at the leadership level of the international communist movement before important events of international significance occur, and to furnish such information to high level officials of the Government.

ACTION:

For information.

100-428091

WGS:pah
(6)

AWO

65 DEC 27 1965

EX-107
REC-13

100-428091-5276
5/8/66
10 DEC 17 1965

100-428091-5277 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING
SERIALIZATION.

1-11-67
gml

FBI

Date: 12-10-65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via Airtel REGISTERED VIA AIR COURIER
(Priority) *Solo*

To: Director, FBI (100-428091)-
From: Legat, Ottawa (105-684) (P)
Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
IS - CANADA

ReBulet 10-28-65.

Enclosed are the original and two copies of
letter dated 12-9-65.

Note request in paragraph nine of the enclosure
and furnish the requested information as it becomes available
for transmission to the

- 6 - Bureau (Enc. 3) *enclosed*
- 1 cc - Liaison Direct
- 2 cc - New York *CLOSURE*
- 1 - Ottawa
- MEI:jhc
- (7)

*Relinquish to NY, CG, IS, DA, ST, KE
WKS: P416*

Shute
WKS Sec.
REC-19 100-428091-5278
1 DEC 14 1965

2 Copies *NY*
by *WKS/jhc*
date *12/15/65*
EX 109

Approved: *AME*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

NAT. INT. SEC.
A.R. O'NEILL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *JS*

DATE: December 15, 1965

FROM : C. F. Downing *CFD*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 12/15/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad.
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dek
(7)

6 DEC 20 1965

65 DEC 27 1965

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/15/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

5-Subj. (last)
BA/2

On 12/14/65, CG 5824-S*, who is currently in NYC, advised that pursuant to instructions from GUS HALL, LEM HARRIS, CPUSA functionary, would go to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. on 12/14/65, and request that the Soviets make arrangements for AL RICHMOND, of the "People's World" in San Francisco, and [redacted] head of the CPUSA Youth Organization, to attend a CP Congress in Italy at the end of January, 1966. HARRIS also has instructions to inform the Soviets that after attending the aforementioned CP Congress in Italy, RICHMOND and [redacted] wish to visit the Soviet Union.

F.A.P.
b6
b7C

J.A.P.

According to CG 5824-S*, it is likely that AL RICHMOND will be accompanied by [redacted] and that [redacted] will be accompanied by [redacted] (name not disclosed) whom [redacted] in the near future.

The information above will be furnished to the San Francisco Office under the caption AL RICHMOND, with instructions to handle in accordance with current Bureau instructions relating to foreign travel by security subjects.

- 3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM) EC-47
- 1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (RM)
- 1-NY 66-6989 (INV) (41)
- 1-NY 100-134637 (41)

100-428091-5280

EX-107

ACB:eac
(7)

DEC 18 11 22 AM '65

6 DEC 21 1965

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 DEC 27 1965

REC-52

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/15/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 12/15/65, CG 5824-S*, who is currently in NYC, advised that he has been instructed by GUS HALL to arrange with the Soviets that ROBERT SCHEER, Foreign Editor of the publication "Ramparts," go to NORTH Vietnam on a peace mission. According to CG 5824-S*, he is yet uncertain as to how he will contact the Soviets in this regard.

The above information will be furnished to the San Francisco Office under the caption "ROBERT SCHEER" with instructions to handle in accordance with current Bureau instructions relating to foreign travel by Security subjects.

103- BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (AM-RM)
 1 - NY 66-6989 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

REC-52

100-428091-5281

ACB:rvs
 (7)

DEC 16 4 34 PM '65

DEC 21 1965

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 DEC 27 1965

Legat, Ottawa (105-684)

12/17/65

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. Shaw

7
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
INTERNAL SECURITY - CANADA

Solo

There are enclosed three copies of a letterhead memorandum, classified "~~Top Secret~~" and captioned "Communist Party of Canada" which pertains to the recent visit of Hyman Lumer to Canada.

US
Promptly furnish a copy of the enclosed memorandum to your [redacted] preferably to [redacted]. It should be emphasized that due to the very delicate nature of our source, it is essential that no distribution or use of our intelligence information be undertaken which would be likely to jeopardize the security of our source.

X Enclosures (3)

ENCLOSURE

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

WGS:pah
(5) *pah*

NOTE:

We have been supplying information concerning the CP of Canada furnished by our Solo informants [redacted]. Such information pertains largely to the organizational activities of the Canadian CP. Because of the sensitive nature of these sources, Legat has been instructed to emphasize that no action be undertaken by [redacted] which would likely jeopardize our sources.

MAILED 5
DEC 20 1965
CC: M-FBI

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

51 DEC 22 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC-70

100-428091-5283

14 DEC 21 1965

631-10211
SEC. 0 210

DEC 18 4 31 PM '65

~~TOP SECRET~~

December 17, 1965

1 - Shaw

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

The following information was supplied by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past.

Hyman Lumer, National Educational Secretary, Communist Party, USA, recently returned to the United States from Canada, where he had gone to finalize plans for the joint Communist Party, USA - Communist Party of Canada training school. Although Lumer did not discuss the school, he indicated that the leadership of the Canadian Communist Party was making preparations for its national convention.

According to Lumer, the Canadian Communist Party no longer desires that the Communist Party, USA, send correspondence to the Communist Party of Canada, via William Kashtan's daughter, Sue Klayman, Apartment 507, 2700 Bathurst Street, Toronto, Canada.

100-428091

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the national defense. Information extracted from CGlet 12/10/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See letter to Legat, Ottawa, captioned same, dated 12/17/65, prepared by WGS:pah.

WGS:pah

(6)

Tolson _____
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Sullivan _____
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Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

~~TOP SECRET~~

100-428091-5283

ENCLOSURE

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC-6
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/14/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 12/13/65, CG 5824-S*, currently in New York City, advised that pursuant to instructions from GUS HALL, LEM HARRIS, CPUSA functionary, would go to Washington, D.C., on 12/14/65 to contact the Soviets for the following purpose:

HARRIS will request that the Soviets arrange that a peace delegation, headed by HERBERT AP THEKER, member of the National Committee of the CPUSA, go to North Vietnam within the next week or two. In this delegation, headed by AP THEKER, will be CAROL GLEESBY, President of Students for a Democratic Society, Professor [redacted] Professor at Yale University, and JOHN LEWIS, Director of Students Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee.

According to CG 5824-S*, HERBERT AP THEKER, while at the Helsinki Peace Conference in July 1965, met North Vietnamese CP functionaries who invited him to visit North Vietnam, and for that reason he is being designated as head of the aforesaid delegation. Before going to North Vietnam, it is planned that the above-mentioned delegation may go to Prague or Moscow, or to both cities.

- 100-428091-5284
1 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
1 - NY 66-6989 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
(7)

6 DEC 22 1965

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

65 DEC 30 1965

Special Agent in Charge

memo to Sullivan
12/14/65
WGS:PAH
11/16/65
12/14/65
12/14/65

6-Shirley Post
Harris
42
Baker
Blair
Ryker
g

NY 100-134637

CG 5824-S* further stated that there is a possibility that there may be a change in the above plan for the reason that NORMAN THOMAS, Socialist leader, and Dr. BENJAMIN SPOCK, nationally known pediatrician from Cleveland, are considering leading a peace delegation to North Vietnam in the immediate future. This delegation would openly negotiate with the U. S. Government for permission to go to North Vietnam. In the event that this second delegation should go to North Vietnam, the Party-led delegation might not join the other group and might go to North Vietnam at a later date.

The above information will be furnished to interested offices under appropriate captions with instructions to handle in accordance with current instructions relating to foreign travel by security subjects.

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Belmont
1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Branigan

December 16, 1965

1 - Cotter
1 - Baumgardner
PEACE DELEGATION TO NORTH VIETNAM
SPONSORED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
1 - Liaison
1 - Shaw

The following information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

The Communist Party, USA, is making arrangements with the Soviet Union to send a peace delegation to North Vietnam. Herbert Aptheker, a member of the Party's National Committee, has been selected by Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, to lead the delegation. Hall selected Aptheker as the delegation leader in view of the fact that Aptheker, while attending the Helsinki Peace Conference in July, 1965, received an official invitation from North Vietnamese Communist Party leaders to visit North Vietnam. The delegation will also include Carl Oglesby, President of Students for a Democratic Society, and Professor [redacted] of Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut. There is also a possibility that John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization, will be included in the delegation.

Present plans call for the delegation to depart from the United States on December 18, 1965, for Prague, Czechoslovakia, via air transportation. The delegation plans to spend about two days in Prague prior to departing for Hanoi, North Vietnam. There is also a possibility that the delegation may confer with Soviet leaders in Moscow, Russia, prior to going to Hanoi.

Students for a Democratic Society is a socialist-oriented youth group which has been extremely active in recent demonstrations protesting United States action in Vietnam.

SENT PER NOTATION
ON MEMORANDUM

REC-51

100-428091

5285 TOP SECRET

Mohr _____
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Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

WGS:pah
(14)

Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

DECLASSIFIED ON: (SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

65 JAN 3

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

REC'D-READING ROOM

DEC 16 5 05 PM '65

FBI

~~TOP SECRET~~

PEACE DELEGATION TO NORTH VIETNAM
SPONSORED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

Professor [] is a self-admitted former member of the American Youth for Democracy, which has been designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. b6 b7C

Because of the sensitive nature of the sources which have furnished the above information, this memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~."

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Dissemination is being made to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of Central Intelligence Agency; and the Attorney General by routing slips. Data extracted from NYairtel 12/14/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 12/16/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by WGS:pah.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 16, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

- 1 - Belmont
- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Branigan
- 1 - Cotter
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Shaw

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

CG 5824-S* recently learned that Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, was sending Lem Harris, a Party official, to the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D. C., on 12/14/65 to make arrangements with the Soviets to send a Party-sponsored peace delegation to North Vietnam. Hall selected Herbert Aptheker, a member of the Party's National Committee, as the leader of the delegation in view of the fact that Aptheker, while at the Helsinki Peace Conference in July, 1965, received an official invitation from North Vietnamese Communist Party leaders to visit North Vietnam. The delegation will also include Carl Oglesby, President of Students for a Democratic Society, a socialist-oriented youth group active in protest demonstrations against United States action in Vietnam, and Yale University Professor [redacted] a self-admitted former member of American Youth for Democracy, designated as subversive pursuant to Executive Order 10450. There is also a possibility that John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, a civil rights group, will be included in the delegation.

[redacted] learned on 12/13/65 that the above-mentioned Party-sponsored peace delegation will depart from the United States on 12/18/65 for Prague, Czechoslovakia, via air transportation. The delegation plans to spend about two days in Prague prior to departing for Hanoi, North Vietnam. CG 5824-S* learned that the delegation may confer with Soviet leaders in Moscow, Russia, prior to going to Hanoi.

RECOMMENDATION:

EX-103

REC-51

100-428091-5285

That the attached summary of the above information be sent to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of the Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General, by routing slips.

100-428091

Enclosures

WGS:pah
(9)

DEC 16 1965

100-428091-5285

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/21/65

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via 4

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReBuairtel, dated 12/10/65, and Chicago airtel, 12/13/65, concerning the joint CPUSA - CP of Canada Marxist Training School, scheduled to be held in Toronto, Canada, from 1/3/66 to 3/28/66, and for the maximum informant coverage possible at the school.

As reported by CG 5824-S*, the group of students attending the school from the CPUSA will be limited to fourteen students or even a lesser number. These individuals will be hand picked by GUS HALL or HYMAN LUMER and only individuals will be chosen whom the Party considers to be potential leaders of the CPUSA.

CG 5824-S* indicated that a person of the status of JACK KLING could be a candidate for this school. The informant said that this will be a leadership school and each person will be selected by reason of the fact that he has exhibited leadership potential or a potential for such a future responsibility.

- 1-813 RB
 ③ - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
 2 - Chicago (134-46-SUB B) (SOLO) (RM)
 (1 - 134-46) (CG 5824-S*)
 1 - New York (66-6980) (CG 5824-S*) (41)
 1 - New York (100-134637) (41)

EMN:gmd
 (8)

REC-51

EX-103

15 DEC 22 1965

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

65 DEC 30 1965

NY 100-134637

Another criteria for selection to the school may be some persons who are now leaders in the Party and will use the school as a refresher course.

The NYO is alert to this situation and in the event any informant so qualifies for this school, all possible steps will be taken to guarantee participation in these activities.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/15/65

REC-51

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

Re NYairtel, 12/14/65, reflecting that LEM HARRIS, CPUSA functionary, was instructed by GUS HALL to go to Washington, D.C., to contact the Soviet Embassy there in order that the Soviets facilitate a trip to North Vietnam by HERBERT APTHEKER, CARL OGLESBY, Prof. [redacted] and JOHN LEWIS. *usa only*

On 12/15/65, CG 5824-S*, who is currently in NYC, advised that JOHN LEWIS, Director of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, will not be a member of the aforesaid delegation to North Vietnam.

The above information is being furnished by separate communication to the Atlanta Office.

- 1 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
 1 - CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B) (AM-RM)
 1 - NY 66-6989 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:rvs
 (7)

6 DEC 23 1965

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

65 DEC 30 1965

FBI
ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/21/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 12/17/65, CG 5824-S*, who was then in New York City, advised that he had received instructions from GUS HALL to arrange that HALL [redacted] (believed to be [redacted] of Minnesota) and ISADORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN go to Poland to consummate the purchase of a Polish stallion. As the Bureau is aware, the stallion is being purchased for breeding purposes, as a result of which the profits therefrom will be given to the CP, USA.

According to the informant, arrangements for the trip to Poland by HALL [redacted] and NEEDLEMAN will be made abroad by HERBERT APTHEKER, who together with three other individuals, has gone to North Vietnam on a peace mission. It is not known as yet when NEEDLEMAN and HALL [redacted] will leave for Poland, but CG 5824-S* believes they will go in the near future.

It is requested that the Chicago Office obtain from CG 5824-S* any further pertinent information regarding the travel of NEEDLEMAN and HALL [redacted] to Poland when such information becomes available.

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
 1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1-NY 66-6989 (CG 5824-S*) (INV) (41)
 1-NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:eac
 (7)

REC-18

6 DEC 27 1965

Approved: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 DEC 30 1965

NY 100-134637

The above information will be furnished the Minneapolis Office under the caption [redacted] with instructions to handle this matter in accordance with current instructions relating to foreign travel by security subjects.

b6
b7C

12/22/65

CODE

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

1 - Shaw

TO LEGAT OTTAWA
REC-105

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-428091) — 5290

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA, INTERNAL SECURITY - CANADA.

REURCAB DECEMBER TWENTY-ONE LAST ADVISING THAT [] DESIRES IDENTITIES OF STUDENTS AND LECTURERS FROM UNITED STATES SCHEDULED TO ATTEND FORTHCOMING TRAINING SCHOOL. ADVISE [] FULL DETAILS CONCERNING ATTENDANCE AT THE SCHOOL NOT AVAILABLE AT THIS TIME. DISTINCT POSSIBILITY EXISTS FBI INFORMANT MAY ATTEND. IF HE DOES INTELLIGENCE INFORMATION WILL BE AVAILABLE WHICH MAY BE OF CONSIDERABLE VALUE TO BOTH FBI AND [] AS ADDITIONAL DETAILS ARE DEVELOPED THEY WILL BE FORWARDED TO YOUR OFFICE FOR REFERRAL TO [] ASCERTAIN WHETHER [] WILL HAVE COVERAGE THIS SCHOOL.

ADVISE:

WGS:pah
(4)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

NR.	177
ENC.	203
CK.	R79
APPROVED BY	[Signature]
TYPED BY	[Signature]
LOGGED BY	[Signature]

NOTE:

The CPUSA-CP of Canada joint Marxist training school, scheduled to be held in Toronto, Canada, from 1/3/66 to 3/28/66 is being financed by the Soviets and is to take the place of the schooling normally given in the Soviet Union to students from Canada and the US. [] has been approached by the CPUSA to attend this school and informant plans to make arrangements to attend. [] desires identities of students and lecturers from the CP.

Tolson
DeLoach
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Wick
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

DEC 22 1965

45 PM 01/16/66

53 JAN 5 1966

TELETYPE UNIT []

8 8
DECODED COPY☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Wick	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

SD-06

URGENT 12-21-65

TO DIRECTOR

FROM LEGAT OTTAWA NO. 459

Solo

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA, IS-CANADA.

REBULET DECEMBER 7 LAST.

b7D

[REDACTED] THIS DATE REQUESTED ON URGENT BASIS, IF AVAILABLE, IDENTITIES STUDENTS AND LECTURERS FROM US SCHEDULED TO ATTEND TRAINING SCHOOL JANUARY 3 TO MARCH 28, TOGETHER WITH ALL AVAILABLE OPEN INFORMATION WHICH COULD BE USED FOR PURPOSE OF PRECLUDING THEIR ENTRY INTO CANADA.

RECEIVED: 1:34 PM MCS

REC-105

100-428091-5290

DEC 28 1965

1 cc in P13 KB

Cable to Ottawa
12-26-65
WB-S/pak

DEC 28 1965

DEC 31 3 57 PM '65

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
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Callahan _____
Conrad _____
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Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *Downing*

DATE: December 22, 1965 *Way*

FROM : *Downing* C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: *SOLO*
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

BT Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

- On 12/22/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
 - 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
 - 1 - Mr. Downing
 - 1 - Mr. Newpher
 - 1 - Mr. Paddock
- g*

Sub
HS:dek
(7)

REC-19

100-428091-5291

6 DEC 30 1965

ST-101

65 JAN 3

FIVE
236

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad

FROM : C. F. Downing

DATE: December 27, 1965

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 12/24/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 942 GR 189, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The case supervisor in the New York Office was advised of the contents upon receipt, as was the substantive supervisor in the Domestic Intelligence Division.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
1 - Mr. Downing
1 - Mr. Newpher
1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dek
(7)

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
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Conrad _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC-19

100-428091-5292
5/11/68

6 DEC 30 1965

ST-101

65 JAN 3 1966

12/27/65

NR 942 GR 189

12/24/65

59377 95474 25721 11531 27698 87821 40106 22588 62989 81517
66925 40616 56353 71383 27750 03839 87232 77841 61024 11799
17720 67886 76669 16756 70883 44685 41247 94488 09183 10694
77613 83767 71589 16487 34652 94353 26037 56479 82893 94177
46604 56340 29346 11413 97794 09003 11270 90589 14444 69064
65971 24208 73132 90093 07992 17776 50756 43876 78061 49386
24484 42041 92548 37360 05504 58598 19381 61844 13478 45692
99426 83713 02937 56719 61359 06876 11214 10011 43909 69202
17938 35256 64950 05930 43193 15452 89572 31783 32794 18201
29048 91196 63073 65746 99346 68580 18333 56016 07060 47585
65934 43569 38647 14788 64442 24118 43570 87155 98903 22140
50111 23197 09711 27314 00644 25565 66511 36039 41923 57879
10235 22640 70945 93177 80221 06442 97545 84505 64831 55952
32789 20417 77986 71127 20442 66666 79351 88994 62651 33210
28989 67800 76393 94037 72892 95498 57778 69220 94243 75632
48656 64498 49327 36548 58268 47151 69028 30446 24721 23749
85492 54441 83319 55712 96052 06499 74350 15092 11819 91001
22686 59488 45479 52801 04681 15572 71357 17956 94872 75700
22993 39329 65659 49971 34096 42883 06336 36554 76803

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5292

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 12/23/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub F)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReCGlet to Director dated December 2, 1965,
and NYlet to Director dated December 3, 1965, setting
forth monthly accounting of Solo and reserve funds.

It is noted that in reCGlet there is included
under additions to CP, USA reserve funds the amount of
\$798.00 received in early November, 1965, from the "World
Marxist Review," Prague, Czechoslovakia, as royalties on
articles prepared by CP, USA members and published in the
magazine. On the day following his return from the last
Solo Mission, November 13, 1965, CG 5824-S* was in contact
with GUS HALL in New York City and apprised HALL of the
receipt of these funds and the purpose for which they were
received. Inasmuch as HALL expected to see the individuals
for whom these funds were intended that same evening, he
requested that amount be turned over to him immediately.
CG 5824-S* did not have those funds with him at that time
so he requested NY 694-S* to provide them and NY 694-S*
did from funds he had in his possession. Therefore, NY 694-S*
turned over to HALL \$800.00. Whether the \$800.00 given to
HALL was from CP, USA reserve funds which NY 694-S* was
carrying or from his personal funds to be reimbursed later
is not known to CG 5824-S* or to the Chicago Office at this
time.

ReNYlet dated December 3, 1965, did not include a
disbursement of \$800.00 from Solo funds for this purpose.
New York has advised that NY 694-S* has not informed the
New York Office of this disbursement and cannot be contacted
at this time to determine the manner in which this disburse-
ment was made. UACB, no cognizance will be taken of this
disbursement until NY 694-S* returns to New York City and
this matter can be discussed with him by the New York Office.

This matter is being brought to the attention of
the Bureau in view of the apparent discrepancy in the reporting
of CP, USA reserve fund transactions.

- ②-Bureau (RM)
- 3-New York (RM)
- (1 - 100-134637) (SOLO)
- (1 - 100-128861) (CP, USA - Reserve Funds)
- (1 - 134-91)

1-Chicago
WAB:MDW
(6)

REC-19 100-428091-5293

6 DEC 30 1965

65 JAN 1 1966

100-428091-5294 IN THIS FILE SKIPPED DURING
SERIALIZATION.

1-11-67

gmh

F B I

Date: 12-23-65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via Airtel REGISTERED
(Priority)

To: Director, FBI (105-28091)
 From: Legat, Ottawa (105-684) (P)
 Subject: COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA
 IS - CANADA

100-428091-5290
 5010
 ReBUcab 12-22-65.

Inspector [REDACTED]

and [REDACTED] on this date advised that the [REDACTED] are attempting to effect coverage of the forthcoming training school but are encountering problems in this regard. He was apprised of information in reBUcab. Bureau will be promptly advised of any developments in this connection.

4 - Bureau
 1 cc - Liaison Direct
 1 - Ottawa
 jhc
 (5)

REC-6

EX-103

NAT. INT. SEC.

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

50 JAN 3 1966

b6
 b7C
 b7D

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/20/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 12/17/65, there was received in a New York mail drop a letter from the Canadian CP enclosing the following message, which, according to CG 5824-S*, who was in New York on 12/17/65, was written by ALF DEWHURST, Canadian Representative to the World Marxist Review in Prague. The letter is as follows:

"For World Marxist Review, ordered by the Department of Philosophy:

"The Myth of Freedom"

"by: Herbert Aptheker

"The article to be not more than 25 pages, double-spaced. The Department would appreciate receiving the MS as soon as possible, sometime before the end of January. Of course, if this is not possible then whenever it is ready.

"The Dept. chief sends his best regards and hopes that it will be possible for comrade Aptheker to fulfill this request.

"A.D."

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM) EX-100
1-Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (AM RM)
1-NY 66-6989 (CG 5824-S) (INV) (41)
1-NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:eac
(7)

REC-6

6 JAN 4 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JAN 5 1966 Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-134637

The original of the above described letter was given to CG 5824-S* for delivery to GUS HALL.

Reference New York airtel, 12/4/65, to Bureau, copy to Chicago, reflecting that HERBERT APTHEKER, member of the National Committee of the CP, USA, would go to North Vietnam as head of a peace delegation.

On 12/17/65, CG 5824-S* advised that GUS HALL had planned to go to Maine on the aforesaid date on a fishing trip, but cancelled plans with respect thereto in order that he might prepare a letter to Ho Chi-minh, President of North Vietnam, which was to be delivered by APTHEKER upon the latter's arrival in North Vietnam. According to CG 5824-S*, APTHEKER and his delegation were scheduled to leave for North Vietnam on 12/20/65.

CG 5824-S* further advised that according to HALL, the content of the letter he would prepare to Ho Chi-minh would be similar in nature to a letter which he had sent to FIDEL CASTRO. It is believed that the letter to CASTRO is that reported in New York airtel to Bureau, copy to Chicago, dated 4/17/64.

~~TOP SECRET~~

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Cotter
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Shaw

December 22, 1965

PEACE DELEGATION TO NORTH VIETNAM
SPONSORED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

My memorandum of December 16, 1965, in the above-captioned matter, reported that Herbert Aptheker, a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, USA, had been selected by Gus Hall, the Party's General Secretary, to lead a peace delegation to North Vietnam. Aptheker departed on this mission on December 19, 1965.

The following information was supplied by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past.

Gus Hall is known to have prepared a letter to HO Chi-minh, President of North Vietnam, and has instructed Aptheker to personally deliver the letter to HO as soon as Aptheker arrives in Hanoi, North Vietnam. Although the actual content of Hall's letter is not known, it reportedly was similar in nature to a letter Hall had previously sent to Cuban Premier Fidel Castro. In his letter to Castro, Hall conveyed his best wishes for Castro's success in the struggle of the Cuban people against the "common enemy, United States imperialism."

Because of the sensitive nature of the source which furnished the above information, this memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~."

REG-70

100-428091 - 5297

WGS:pah:skp (14)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

JAN 4 1966

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Conrad _____
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Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

JAN 5 1966

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

DEC 22 11 10 AM '65

REC'D-READING ROOM
FBI

WGS
MOB
WGS

~~TOP SECRET~~

PEACE DELEGATION TO NORTH VIETNAM
SPONSORED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

~~NOTE:~~

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. Dissemination is being made to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of Central Intelligence Agency; and the Attorney General by routing slips. Data extracted from NYairtel 12/20/65, captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 12/22/65, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by WGS:pah.

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

DATE: December 22, 1965

1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Branigan
1 - Mr. Cotter
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Shaw
1 - Liaison

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
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Sullivan _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

My memorandum of 12/16/65 reported that Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, had selected Herbert Aptheker, a member of the Party's National Committee, to lead a Party-sponsored peace delegation to North Vietnam. Aptheker departed on this mission on 12/19/65.

CG 5824-S* has advised that Gus Hall had planned to leave for a vacation trip to Maine on 12/17/65, but canceled his plans in order that he might prepare a letter to HO Chi-minh, President of North Vietnam. Hall instructed Aptheker to deliver the letter to HO as soon as Aptheker arrived in Hanoi, North Vietnam. Although CG 5824-S* did not have an opportunity to see what Hall had written to HO, Hall told the informant that his letter to HO was similar in nature to a letter which he had previously sent to Cuban Premier Fidel Castro.

NY 694-S* had previously made available a copy of Hall's letter to Castro, which contained the best wishes of Hall for Castro's success in the struggle of the Cuban people against the "common enemy, United States imperialism."

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary of the above information be sent to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk; Secretary of State; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General, by routing slips.

100-428091

Enclosures

WGS:pah/js

(9)

SENT DIRECTOR
12-22-65

6 JAN 4 1966

EX-112 REC-10

100-428091-5297

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *[Signature]*

DATE: December 29, 1965 *[Signature]*

FROM : C. F. Downing *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 12/29/65, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time the message sent on 12/24/65, NR 942 GR 189, was retransmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

[Signature] HS:dek
(7)

EX-112

REC-70

100-428091-5298

6 JAN 4 1966

65 JAN 5 1966

FILE

FBI

Date: 1/4/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 1/4/66, there was received from the Soviets, via radio, a ciphered and partially-coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Due to technical reasons, we were not able to pick your signal up last Thursday. Please confirm today by January phone, otherwise we are not sure that you have the new radio schedule."

Re above, see NY airtel 12/24/65, reflecting that on 12/24/65 the Soviets furnished a radio schedule for January and February 1966. Pursuant to instructions from the Soviets, the NYO, in the absence of NY 694-S*, made a signal call to a telephone booth in New York, presumably monitored by the Soviets, acknowledging receipt of the radio schedule. On 12/29/65, the Soviets repeated the above message which also was confirmed by telephone signal by the NYO.

The Soviet reference in the message of 1/4/66 with respect to "picking up your signal last Thursday" possibly has the following significance:

- 1 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub C (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (34)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
 (8)

Approved: _____

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JAN 7 1966

Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-134637

In the event that NY 694-S* should not receive in its entirety, or clearly, a radio message, he is to contact the Soviets by walky-talky, sending a 4-dot signal indicating that he desires the radio message repeated. If, as a matter of fact, the Soviets did not receive the confirming telephonic signals, they possibly anticipated that NY 694-S* would contact them, as above-described, by walky-talky, on Thursday, 1/27/66.

The message of 1/4/66 was given to CG 5824-S* who was then in New York City.

The NYO will send the requested telephonic signal call to the Soviets on the evening of 1/4/66.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
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Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: December 20, 1965

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Belmont
1 - DeLoach
1 - Mohr
1 - Callahan
(Attention: M. F. Row)
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - Donohue
1 - Shaw

(Solo is the code word referring to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.)

Special Agent in Charge, Chicago, by letter 12/16/65, recommended that a personal letter of appreciation and an award of \$1,000 be afforded CG 5824-S* for having subjected himself to extraordinary risk in traveling to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia on Solo Mission 19 to obtain vital intelligence data pertaining to current developments in the international communist movement.

You will recall that CG 5824-S*, traveling under an assumed identity and in a covert manner, was on Solo Mission 19 from 10/19/65 to 11/12/65. During that period informant conferred in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia with important functionaries, including Soviet Presidium member Mikhail Suslov and Czechoslovakian President Antonin Novotny. As a result of these high level contacts, CG 5824-S* has supplied us with much sought-after data concerning current developments in the international communist movement. This has enabled us to disseminate to top Government officials intelligence data which is vital in shaping our foreign policy. SI-105

REC- 52

100-428091-5300

Some of the more important items of intelligence information obtained by CG 5824-S* on this mission pertained to the progress of the action in Vietnam and the intentions of the communist world in that regard, the amount and type of aid furnished by the Soviets to North Vietnam, Soviet views on the future of the Sino-Soviet rift, a current analysis of the struggle for power among the leadership of the Soviet Union, the fact that the Soviets are considering the formation of a new international communist

100-428091
Enclosures

CONTINUED--OVER

WGS:pah
(9)

65 JAN 7 1966

SENT DIRECTOR
FOR APPROVAL
12-21-65

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: SOLO
100-428091

organization to improve relations between fraternal parties and the granting by the Soviets of a \$700,000 financial subsidy to the Communist Party, USA, for the year 1966.

Solo Mission 19, as in all preceding missions, was an extremely arduous undertaking. CG 5824-S* was in ill health at the inception of the mission and returned to the United States with many of his physical ailments more seriously aggravated.

OBSERVATIONS:

The intelligence data obtained by CG 5824-S* on Solo Mission 19 is invaluable and cannot be measured in dollars and cents. Inasmuch as his activities in this operation place his life in jeopardy, his willingness and cooperation in carrying out his mission certainly merit special recognition.

It is noted that since 1/1/65 this informant has been paid a total of \$12,950.00 for services rendered (this is the equivalent of a Grade 13 Agent). During this same period he has received meritorious awards in the amount of \$2,000.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

(1) That CG 5824-S* receive a personal letter of appreciation as well as an award of \$1,000.

OK
J

(2) That the attached letter be sent to Special Agent in Charge, Chicago, authorizing the payment of \$1,000 to CG 5824-S* and instructing the Special Agent in Charge to make the presentation of the award along with the attached personal letter of appreciation. (After the informant has had an opportunity to read the letter of appreciation, it will be returned to the Chicago Office and retained in the office safe.)

WEL
WES
CDB/K
P
JRM
2. HENNE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 12/24/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS 7 C

Handwritten: TADDOCK PUP
 5-84885

On 12/24/65, there was received from the Soviets, via radio, a ciphered-partly coded message, the plaintext of which is as follows:

"This is radio schedule for January and February 1966. January - Tuesday 1215-8493KC, 1235-9376KC, 1255-10128KC, call sign 63D-repeat D. Friday 1205-8372KC, 1225-9119KC, 1245-9957, call sign F-repeat F, 47. February - Wednesday 1217-9249KC, 1237-10343KC, 1257-11533KC, call sign N2X-repeat 2X. Friday 1235-9937KC, 1255-10795KC, 1315-12188KC, call sign 8R-repeat R. Time is given in GMT. Walky-talky days will be in January, Monday and Thursday, in February Tuesday and Thursday. Please confirm by phone today."

The above message was telephonically transmitted to the Chicago Office with instructions that this information be given immediately to CG 5824-S*, who will

REC-52

- 1-83M
 3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46)(SUB B)(RM)
 1 - New York (105-14931)(341)
 1 - New York (134-91)(INV)(41)
 1 - New York

100-428091-5301

1-7
 12 DEC 27 1965

ACB:ljs
 (8)

COPIES
 FBI ANNEX

Approved: DEC 29 1965

Sent _____

Special Agent in Charge

65 JAN 7 1966

NY 100-134637

handle it by reason of the absence from NY of NY 694-S*.
The NYO will make the telephonic confirmation requested
by the Soviets, which consists of a signal telephone call
to a telephone booth at 7:05 PM on the evening of
12/24/65.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: December 16, 1965

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Re New York tel to Bureau dated 11/13/65 and subsequent communications from Chicago setting forth results of the 19th Solo Mission undertaken by CG 5824-S* during the period October 19 to November 12, 1965.

It is being recommended that the personal sacrifice and bravery of this informant which produced outstanding results from this mission be recognized in the form of an award in the amount of \$1,000 and letter from the Director with his personal commendation for this informant's accomplishment.

As on past missions, this trip resulted in the acquisition of intelligence information of outstanding value to our country. CG 5824-S* was given access to information of paramount importance to both the United States and the USSR by virtue of his many years intimate association with leaders of the highest rank within the ruling bodies of the Communist Party, Soviet Union (CPSU) and the government of the USSR.

The following are a few examples.

One of the most important items of information obtained by this source pertained to the progress of the war in Viet Nam and the intentions of the communist world in this regard. CG 5824-S* reported the analysis and stated intentions of the communist powers in regard to Viet Nam as revealed to him in conversations with MIKHAIL SUSLOV, a member of the Presidium and a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; and ANTONIN NOVOTNY, President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and First Secretary of the Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia. CG 5824-S* also was able to report the amount and type of aid furnished to our Vietnamese enemies by the USSR as contained in secret documents in Soviet files.

2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago
JRW:mec
(3)

65 JAN 13 1966

REC-20
EX-113

100-428091-53074

DEC 30 1965

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 65-7665-1

Second, a factor bearing upon many future decisions of our government is the status of Soviet-Chinese relations. In discussions with SUSLOV and BORIS N. PONOMAREV, a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU, CG 5824-S* was briefed on the Soviet analysis of their differences and obtained an insight into the official Soviet view of the future of this rift in the world communist movement.

Third, as a result of his discussions and observations while in the USSR, CG 5824-S* was also able to give a current informed analysis of the struggle for power among the leadership of the Soviet Union.

Fourth, one item of particular interest and possible significance was the information that TIMUR TIMOFEEV, presently Deputy Director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences, was considering forming a new inner-CPSU organization, the purpose of which would be to hold all Communist Parties together and improve relations between all Communist Parties. This could eventually form the basis for some future international organization, possibly a new Comintern.

In addition to the above, CG 5824-S* handled numerous inner-Party tasks for GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, and thus consolidated his position with the leadership of the CPUSA and assured the continuation of the Solo apparatus. Further, CG 5824-S* negotiated the annual subsidy of the CPUSA by the CPSU in the amount of \$700,000 for the year 1966. This was the primary purpose of the mission insofar as GUS HALL was concerned and contributes in large measure to the informant's position of trust and confidence with HALL. Even before leaving Moscow this time, the basis was laid for the next mission. The CPSU extended an invitation to the CPUSA to send a fraternal delegation to the XXIII Congress of the CPSU in late March, 1966, and stated that they expect CG 5824-S* will be a member of that delegation.

CG 134-46

This mission, as in all preceding missions, was an extremely arduous undertaking. CG 5824-S* was already in very ill health at the inception of this trip in view of the heavy pressure of work prior to his departure. Due to the rigors of such travel in such a concentrated span of time, CG 5824-S* returned to the United States with many of his physical ailments more seriously aggravated. It should be noted that CG 5824-S* was not accompanied by his wife on this trip and, therefore, was not able to rely upon her as in the past to absorb much of the detail involved in covert travel. The physical and mental strain upon the informant, already in chronic ill health, resulted upon his return to the United States in almost complete physical collapse, a condition from which he has not as yet fully recovered.

I am sure we need not dwell upon how hazardous an undertaking each of these missions is and how much skill, initiative, and resourcefulness is required to bring it off successfully time and time again. Since he is traveling under an assumed identity and in a covert manner, he could disappear and there would be no question raised. In spite of having full knowledge of this fact, he unhesitatingly undertakes these missions. He has displayed great personal courage in the face of extraordinary risks and complete disregard for his own safety and health, as a result of which information of outstanding value to the government was obtained.

Because of the tremendous risks involved and the great personal sacrifices from the standpoint of health, mental strain, and personal sacrifice in time involved in carrying out this mission, it is recommended that the Bureau approve an award to CG 5824-S* in the amount of \$1,000 to be accompanied by a letter from the Director commending the informant for his actions in the successful completion of another Solo Mission.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

REC-4

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 12/29/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "JOHN AND EVELYN VAFIADES, PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was contained in a New Year's greeting card addressed to CG 5824-S* which was received on December 23, 1965, at a mail drop box maintained for the informant's use in the Solo operation. The greeting card noted that this is a new address for the VAFIADESes.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" in order to protect this highly placed source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement. Unauthorized disclosure might jeopardize the security of this informant, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

ENCLOSURE

EX-103

- ② - Bureau, (Enc. 4) (RM)
1 - New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
1 - Chicago

WAB:MDW
(4)

REC-100-428091-5303

JAN 10 1966

AGENCY State - C14
REQ. REC'D _____
DATE FORW. 1/3/66
HOW FORW. file
BY W.B. [signature]

65 JAN 13 1966



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

December 29, 1965

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JOHN AND EVELYN VAFIADES,
PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

On December 23, 1965, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

John and Evelyn Vafiades are former members of the Communist Party, USA, now residing and working in Prague, Czechoslovakia. As of mid-December, 1965, their address and phone number in Prague was as follows:

Praha 10
Sidliste c. p. 2071
Strasnice
Phone: 97-24-62

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1
excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5303

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *fbj* DATE: January 6, 1966
FROM : Mr. W. G. Shaw *WGS* 1 - Baumgardner
1 - Shaw
SUBJECT: *SOLO*
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

This memorandum outlines the material developed during Solo Mission 19 and will assist in locating pertinent data within the Solo file.

DESCRIPTION OF INFORMATION	AIRTEL	SERIAL
AUSTRALIA (CP OF).....	11/18/65	5200*
AARON, L. (General Secretary, CP of Australia).....	11/18/65	5200*
CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOTEL (Moscow, USSR).....	12/2/65	5252
CHERNOV, LEONID (International Dept. - USSR).....	11/18/65	5200*
COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (7th Congress).....	11/18/65	5200*
	11/22/65	5211
COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (Fight Against Racism).....	11/24/65	5221
CZECHOSLOVAKIA		
Party Congress to be held May, 1966.....	11/16/65	5200*
Internal situation.....	11/17/65	5200*
Interest in Education within USA.....	11/24/65	5229
DENNIS, PEGGY (CPUSA member traveling in USSR).....	11/24/65	5224
DEWHURST, ALF (Canadian CP representative to WNR).....	11/18/65	5200*
GARDOS, GRACE (Hungarian citizen).....	11/24/65	5224
(CPUSA member traveling in USSR).....	11/30/65	5244
GREAT BRITAIN (CP of).....	11/23/65	5238
GUEVARA, ERNESTO "CHE" (Cuban official).....	11/18/65	5200*
HIGHLIGHTS OF SOLO MISSION 19.....	11/13/65	5200*
HO Chi-minh (President of North Vietnam).....	11/18/65	5200*
INDONESIA (Political situation).....	11/19/65	5200*
JOHNSON, BEATRICE SISKING (CPUSA Cuban Representative).....	11/26/65	5226
KORIANOV, VITALY (Soviet official).....	11/22/65	5210

100-428091

WGS:pah
(3)

65 JAN 13 1966

CONTINUED--5 JAN 10 1966

EX-103

REC-4

100-428091-5304

File 5

Memorandum to Mr. Baumgardner

Re: SOLO

100-428091

LATIN AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP MEETING (April, 1966).....11/16/65 5200*
LIGHTFOOT, CLAUDE (CPUSA Vice - Chairman).
 Speech to 7th Congress of Communist International.....11/18/65 5200*
 Activities in Czechoslovakia.....11/30/65 5244

MOSTOVETS, NIKOLAI (Soviet official)
 Position.....11/22/65 5210
 Visit to United States.....11/24/65 5212

NEW ERA BOOKS (CPUSA outlet).....11/24/65 5223
NEW WORLD REVIEW (Soviets give financial aid).....11/19/65 5200*
NOVOTNY, ANTONIN (Czechoslovakian official).....11/17/65 5200*

[REDACTED] (Visiting USSR).....11/22/65 5218

PERLO, VICTOR (CPUSA member).....11/30/65 5244
POLISH STALLIONS TO BE GIVEN CPUSA.....11/23/65 5227
PONOMAREV, BORIS N. (Soviet official).....11/23/65 5213
PRAGA PRESS (Czechs to aid).....11/30/65 5247
PUERTO RICO (CP of).....11/29/65 5241

SHARKEY, LAURENCE (CP of Australia).....11/18/65 5200*
SHIELDS, ART
 Moscow Correspondent of "The Worker".....11/23/65 5217
 Travel to East Germany.....11/30/65 5246

SOLO OPERATION
 Discussions with Soviets re communications....11/23/65 5220
 Outline of Informant's travel on Mission.....11/26/65 5228
 Evaluation of information by CIA and DIA.....12/16/65 5200*

SOVIET UNION
 23rd Congress to open 3/28/66.....11/18/65 5200*
 Plans to establish international body.....11/22/65 5231
 Current status of leadership.....11/22/65 5230
 To prepare bibliographies on World CP leaders.....11/29/65 5241
 Plans to print book by Gus Hall.....11/30/65 5245
 Visit by CPUSA Delegation re Nov. Celebration.....11/30/65 5244
 Reimbursement to CPUSA for travel expenses.... 12/1/65 5264

TIMOFEEV, TIMUR (Position in USSR).....11/22/65 5231

VAFADES, JOHN (EVELYN) (Payment of CPUSA dues).....11/24/65 5222
VENEZUELA (CP of).....11/24/65 5215

CONTINUED--OVER

Memorandum to Mr. Baumgardner
Re: SOLO
100-428091

VIETNAM

Soviet documents relating to aid.....11/16/65 5200*
Soviet views on.....11/18/65 5200*

WEINSTOCK, LOUIS (ROSE) (Activities in Hungary).....11/24/65 5214
[REDACTED] (CPUSA dues payments).....11/24/65 5222

WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

Funds to CPUSA for royalty payments.....11/22/65 5216
Kavelenko in charge of finances.....11/26/65 5225
General discussions.....11/29/65 5240

ACTION:

None. File for record purposes.

CPUSA

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: January 7, 1966

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

for
Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 1/7/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 495 GR 45, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

B. G. Shaw

Enclosure

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED

10 JAN 12 1966

B. G. Shaw

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS
HS:dek
(7)

ENCLOSURE

65 JAN 12 1966

1/7/66

NR 0495 GR 045

01/07/66

76666 69814 92526 93694 33786 39009 47414 98222 39434 63425
90226 04489 29150 33579 87734 19792 54812 28929 77747 78297
69867 59919 19407 28255 22506 23145 68125 62308 93027 04362
29656 24059 70925 12043 40271 03035 32681 18426 18110 48307
66912 77381 17674 64007 04011

NR 0495 GR 045

01/07/66

UNTIL NOW WE HAVE NOT RECEIVED YOUR CONFIRMATION THAT YOU ARE
READY TO WORK ACCORDING NEW TUGS SCHEDULE. PLEASE CONSULT
PRING AND CONFIRM TODAY BY JANUARY PHONE 38888

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*
FROM : C. F. Downing

DATE: January 4, 1966 *WJC*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 1/4/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 271 GR 47, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-

NOT RECORDED

10 JAN 6 1966

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dek

(7)

66 JAN 7 1966

1/4/66

NR 271 GR 47

1/ 4/66

85302 11451 38785 89206 97266 62337 87302 26480 58133 32883

24950 55827 15443 60966 41558 33513 66205 08907 21984 88254

27319 56448 46595 28643 49116 31448 05599 75645 58203 78256

92461 70511 48379 75120 77302 08124 64475 09202 42242 62224

03173 85395 15170 16741 86269 84379 35087

NR 271 GR 47

1/ 4/66

DUE TO TECHNICAL REASONS WE WERE NOT ABLE TO PICK YOUR SIGNAL

UP LAST THURSDAY. PLEASE CONFIRM TODAY BY JANUARY PHONE. OT

HERWISE WE ARE NOT SURE THAT YOU HAVE NEW TUGS SCHEDULE. %

100-428091-

ENCLOSURE

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 1/7/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

There was received from the Soviets, via radio, on 1/7/66, a ciphered, partially-coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"Until now we have not received your confirmation that you are ready to work according to new radio schedule. Please consult JACK BROOKS and confirm today by January phone."

As reflected in NY airtel, 1/4/66, the Soviets, on two previous occasions, have not received telephonic signals confirming that a radio message has been received. Upon receipt of the radio message on 1/7/66, the NYO ascertained that the telephones to which the confirming signals were being sent were not operative. As a result of reporting this information to the New York Telephone Company, the said telephones were repaired. On 1/7/66 the NYO will send a confirming signal call to the scheduled January telephone number.

- ②-813RB
 3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-469 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub C (TALANOV) (341)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
 (8)

REC-58

100-428091-5305
10 JAN 12 1966Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

69 JAN 11 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/5/66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub F)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReBulet dated May 4, 1960, and CGlet dated December 2, 1965.

ReBulet instructed Chicago to set forth a monthly accounting of all receipts and disbursements of Solo and CP, USA Reserve Funds in possession of CG 5824-S*. Set forth below is such an accounting:

Balance of funds in possession
of CG 5824-S* as of 11/30/65

Solo

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, First National Bank of Chicago,
Chicago, Illinois \$61,000.00

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois 115,394.00

CP, USA - Reserve Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit
box, Michigan Avenue National Bank,
Chicago, Illinois 4,048.00

Total \$180,442.00

AdditionsSolo and CP, USA - Reserve Funds

None.

②-Bureau (RM)

2-New York (RM)

(1 - 100-134637 (SOLO)

(1 - 100-128861 (CP, USA - Reserve Funds)

1-Chicago

65 JAN 20 1966

(5)

REC-24

100-428091-5306

10 JAN 12 1966

memo to Sullivan
R.C.P. 1/10/66

Disbursements

Solo

12/1/65 to LOU DISKIN, Modern Book Store, for books purchased and sent abroad \$ 36.00

12/1/65 as price of shoes purchased for GUS HALL and sent to NYC 23.97 ✓

12/2/65 cost of pens, fillers, and miscellaneous items sent in part as birthday gift to NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, and to other CPSU officials 41.00 ✓

12/4-6/65 for price of shirts, cuff links, and miscellaneous items of clothing purchased for GUS HALL in connection with television and press conference, Chicago, 12/6, plus cost of food, lodging, entertainment, etc., for HALL, 12/4-6/65 110.00 ✓

12/5/65 to GUS HALL as cash reserve for travel 400.00 ✓

12/8/65 to MAX WEINSTEIN, Chicago, to be transmitted to [redacted] Youngstown, Ohio for use in re-establishing [redacted] in business 3,000.00 ✓

12/8/65 to MAX WEINSTEIN as additional investment (for part of building purchase price) in connection with CP interest in bumper business 3,000.00 ✓

12/8/65 to LOU DISKIN for purchase of books sent abroad 60.00 ✓

12/8/65 as postage for books sent abroad 8.00 ✓

CG 134-46 Sub F

12/12/65 for rental of Hertz automobile, NYC, used in connection with meeting of HALL, Yonkers, NY

\$ 20.50 ✓

Expenditures during week of 12/12/65:

Price of Uher 400 Tape Recorder and attachments purchased in NYC for GUS HALL.

547.60 ✓

Amount paid to LEM HARRIS, New York City, to cover travel expenses relating to two trips to Soviet Embassy, Washington, D.C., to arrange for visas for Vietnam delegation

120.00 ✓

Cash personally provided GUS HALL, NYC

250.00

Food, entertainment, and miscellaneous expenditures in NY on behalf of GUS HALL and LEM HARRIS

30.00 ✓

Expenses for rail transportation, food, etc., related to trip of CG 6653-S to New Haven, Connecticut, to discuss investment matters with HALL [redacted]

45.00 ✓

On 12/18/65 reimbursement to CG 5824-S* for expenses connected with travel to NYC 12/11-18/65 for meetings and discussions with HALL and for handling CP matters. Total amount expended \$408.22 for air fare, family plan, round-trip, NYC, lodging, and transportation NY less \$250.00 expenses received from Bureau 158.22

\$7,850.29

CG 134-46 Sub F

Balance of funds in possession of
CG 5824-S* as of 12/31/65

Solo

Maintained in cash in safe deposit box, First National Bank of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois	\$ 61,000.00
---	--------------

Maintained in cash in safe deposit box, Michigan Avenue National Bank, Chicago, Illinois	107,543.71
--	------------

CP, USA - Reserve Funds

Maintained in cash in safe deposit box, Michigan Avenue National Bank, Chicago, Illinois	<u>4,048.00</u>
--	-----------------

Total	\$172,591.71
-------	--------------

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/5/66

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637A)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Remylet 12/3/65.

The records of the NYO reflect the following transactions regarding SOLO funds during the month of December, 1965:

CREDITS

12/1/65 On Hand \$1,023,533.78

DEBITS

12/17/65 To GUS HALL, part thereof (not specified) for travelling expenses to Poland of ISIDORE GIBBY NEEDLEMAN and HALL's

\$10,000.00

12/17/65 To LENA SCHERER to defray CPUSA National Office expenses

20,000.00 20,000.00
~~\$1,003,533.78~~
993,533.78

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-128861-Sub B (CPUSA, RESERVE FUNDS) (42)
1 - NY 100-134637A (41)

ACB:msb
(6)

REC 58

100-428091-5307

10 JAN 12 1966



10 JAN 15

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637

The above balance, \$1,003,533.78, as of 12/31/65, is maintained as follows, according to NY 694-S*:

Vault - 67 Broad St. branch of C.B.N.Y.T. Co.	⁴³⁴ \$444,000.00
Vault - 20 Pine St. branch of C.B.N.Y.T. Co.	234,609.00
JACK BROOKS regular checking account #1, (001-228919), 20 Pine St. branch of C.B.N.Y.T.	33,924.78
JACK BROOKS regular checking account #2, (001-232835), 20 Pine St. branch of C.B.N.Y.T.	36,000.00
JACK BROOKS regular checking account #3, (001-237942), 20 Pine St. branch, C.B.N.Y.T.	40,000.00
NYO Vault at National City Bank, 72nd St. and 3rd Ave.	215,000.00
	\$1,003,533.78
	993,533.78

Note: "C.B.N.Y.T." above is Chemical Bank-New York Trust Co.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 1/10/66

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 1/10/66, there was received at a New York mail drop a letter from WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the Canadian CP, addressed to GUS HALL, under the latter's pseudonym "HERBERT." The text of the letter is as follows

"January 5th. 1966.

"Dear Herbert:

"Have a few letters about the internal squabble from the lads in far east, dated October 18th and Nov. 5th and having to do with whether father is doing enough to help out in the critical area. I believe some of it may have appeared in the press. In any case they are somewhat bulky. Should we send them on as this note is sent? Kindly advise.

"Very sorry to hear about Jack S. The old guard is passing away and some of them are not very old either. Please convey our respects to his family.

"This back now and in good spirits. He met Apt who I imagine will give you the picture.

"All the best,

"as ever,
"B."

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM) (Enc. 1)
- 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
- 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
(7)

REC-81

100-428091-5308

JAN 14 1966

Approved: _____

JAN 26 1966 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

4
NY 100-134637

With respect to paragraph one above, it is believed that the significance of the paragraph is that the Canadian CP had received two communications from the Canadian delegation that had gone to Vietnam.

In paragraph two it is believed that "JACK S." is a reference to JACK STACHEL, CP functionary who recently died.

"T" in paragraph is undoubtedly a reference to TIM BUCK, Chairman Emeritus of the Canadian CP, who recently returned with the Canadian delegation mentioned above.

"APT" is probably a reference to HERBERT APTHEKER who also recently returned from a trip to Vietnam.

In view of the absence from New York of NY 694-S*, it is requested that the original communication, which is being enclosed herewith for the Chicago Office, be transmitted to CG 5824-S* for handling.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: January 10, 1966

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - DeLoach
1 - Sullivan
1 - Baumgardner
1 - R. Putnam

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Tolson ☒
DeLoach ☒
Mohr ☐
Casper ☐
Callahan ☐
Conrad ☐
Felt ☐
Gale ☐
Rosen ☒
Sullivan ☒
Tavel ☐
Trotter ☐
Wick ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Holmes ☐
Gandy ☐

My memorandum of 12/8/65 set forth in detail receipts and disbursements of funds from the Soviet Union and Red China by the Communist Party, USA, during the month of November, 1965. The following schedule shows the present status of these funds together with disbursements during December, 1965.

SUMMARY:

Total received from the Soviet Union 9/58 to 12/31/65.....	\$3,443,639.00
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 12/31/65.....	50,000.00
Grand total received 9/58 to 12/31/65.....	3,493,639.00
Total disbursements to 12/31/65.....	2,321,561.51
Balance of Fund 12/31/65.....	\$1,172,077.49

\$1,005,533.78 maintained by NY 694-S in New York City.
168,543.71 maintained by CG 5824-S* in Chicago.

DETAILS:

Total received from Soviet Union 9/58 to 11/30/65.....	\$3,443,639.00
Total received from Red China 2/60 to 11/30/65.....	50,000.00
Grand total received 9/58 to 11/30/65.....	3,493,639.00
Total disbursements to 11/30/65.....	2,293,711.22
Balance of Fund 11/30/65.....	1,199,927.78

DISBURSEMENTS DURING DECEMBER, 1965:

12/1 & 8/65 - Books purchased to be sent to the Soviet Union..	104.00
12/2/65 - For gifts sent to leading officials of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.....	41.00
12/1 & 12/4-6/65 - For clothing purchased for Gus Hall, General Secretary of Communist Party, USA, expenses and cash out (\$400) given Hall.....	533.97

100-428091

RCP:pah
(5)

REC-83

CONTINUED--OVER

100-428091-5309

6 JAN 14 1966

65 JAN 20 1966

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
Re: SOLO
100-428091

12/8/65 - Invested in Party businesses.....\$ 6,000.00
12/12/65 - For tape recorder purchased for Gus Hall..... 547.60
12/12/65 - For expenses for meetings with Hall and travel
expenses on Party work..... 215.50
12/12/65 - Cash given Gus Hall..... 250.00
12/17/65 - Given Gus Hall; unspecified portion to be used for
traveling expenses for trip to Poland by Theodore Gibby
Needleman and Hall [redacted] to pick
up stud stallion for use on horse farm..... 10,000.00
12/17/65 - For expenses of Party's National Office..... 10,000.00
12/18/65 - Reimbursement for CG 5824-S* for travel to
New York City..... 158.22
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1965.....\$27,850.29
BALANCE OF FUND -- DECEMBER 31, 1965.....\$1,172,077.49

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information.
An up-to-date accounting of Solo funds will be brought to your
attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds
are not to be disseminated.

[Handwritten signatures and initials: "W", "J", "W", "D"]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *Jure*

DATE: January 11, 1966

FROM : *Es.* F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 1/11/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dek
(7)

REC-6

100-428091-5310

6 JAN 17 1966

EX-107

65 JAN 20 1966

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

*2-14 NY 1/17/66
Rebulet 12/18/65 adding 4 assignments
to altimatory contacting a few for NY 694-S*
to alter last reply, be submitted WGS from
Reply: 1/18/66*

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Wick	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

SD-03

URGENT 1-11-66

TO DIRECTOR (100-428091)

FROM LEGAT OTTAWA NO. 472

COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA, IS-C.

REBULET DECEMBER 17 LAST.

[] ADVISE 19 STUDENTS ATTENDING CPC TRAINING SCHOOL TO
DATE, 13 MALES AND 6 FEMALES, AND OF THESE 9 REPORTEDLY
AMERICANS WITH POSSIBILITY 1 OR 2 MORE AS LATE ARRIVALS FROM
U. S.

TWO ARE REPORTEDLY FROM CHICAGO []
POSSIBLY IDENT [] REFERRED TO IN CHICAGO
LHM, DECEMBER 29 LAST CAPTIONED "CPUSA, EDUCATION, IS-C."

ANOTHER IS KNOWN AS [] AND IS PART NEGRO AND FROM BOSTON.
ANOTHER IS KNOWN AS [] APPROXIMATELY 20, JEWISH, FROM
NYC.

[] DESIROUS OF OBTAINING ANY INFO AVAILABLE BUREAU RE
IDENTITIES ABOVE AND OTHERS IN ATTENDANCE AND INFO AS TO WHETHER

REC-83

14 JAN 18 1966

69 JAN 21 1966

If the intelligence contained in the above message is to be disseminated outside the Bureau, it is suggested that it be suitably paraphrased in order to protect the Bureau's cryptographic systems.

Tolson _____
 DeLoach _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 Felt _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Wick _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

DECODED COPY

☐ AIRGRAM ☒ CABLEGRAM ☐ RADIO ☐ TELETYPE

PAGE TWO FROM LEGAT OTTAWA NO. 472

BUREAU SOURCE INVOLVED TO ASSIST IN POSITION TO BE TAKEN BY

☐ IN FACE EVENTUAL REVELATION SUCH SCHOOL BY PRESS, OPPOSITION
 PARTY, ETC.

b7D

b7C

b6

RECEIVED: 1-11-66 3:01 PM PARTIALLY UNDECIPHERABLE

CORRECTION RECEIVED: 1-12-66 11:14 AM MCS

3RD CC MR. BRENNAN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*

DATE: January 18, 1966 *we/s*

FROM: *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

fw On 1/18/66, transmissions were intercepted by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

5/WG

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:dek

REC-52 100-428091-5312

6 JAN 21 1966

F146
65 JAN 25 1966

1 - Mr. Rushing, 831 RB

88-19435

January 18, 1966

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID
PROSECUTION - KIDNAPING,
SECURITY MATTER - C

0
Solo

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] who is a well-known
[REDACTED] fled to Cuba following the issuance
of a fugitive felon warrant based on a felony charge of
kidnaping which grew out of a racial incident in Monroe,
North Carolina, during August, 1961. He has carried on a
violently anti-United States propaganda campaign during
his residence in Cuba.

b6
b7C

On January 17, 1966, [REDACTED] an attorney
in Cleveland, Ohio, advised our Cleveland Office that he
received a telephone call on January 14, 1966, from [REDACTED]
which call originated from Havana, Cuba. According to
[REDACTED] is desirous of surrendering. [REDACTED]
requested to be advised of the Federal warrants currently
outstanding against [REDACTED] pointing out that the fugitive
felon warrant may be based on a defective indictment in
Monroe, North Carolina.

b6
b7C

[REDACTED] stated that he was also the attorney for
[REDACTED] one of [REDACTED] codefendants. In this
regard it is noted that both [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] have been
reindicted in North Carolina as a result of a Supreme Court
decision to the effect that the original indictments were
faulty because of racial exclusion in the grand jury
proceedings.

b6
b7C

Our Cleveland Office has been instructed to
advise [REDACTED] that the only Federal process outstanding
involves the fugitive felon warrant issued in the Western
District of North Carolina on August 23, 1961. The above
is being furnished for your information.

LHM to Department by 0-6.

CWH:dln

(6)

1 - 100-428091

100-428091-
NOT RECORDED
18 JAN 20 1966
DUPLICATE YELLOW

70 JAN 25 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091) DATE: 1/19/66

FROM : JFM *Wm* SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C *5 Shush*

fu Re Chicago letter to Bureau dated 12/23/65, calling to the attention of the Bureau an ostensible discrepancy in the reporting of CP, USA Reserve Fund transactions in that \$800.00, given by NY 694-S* to GUS HALL at the request of CG 5824-S*, has not been reported as having been taken from Soviet funds maintained by NY 694-S*.

On 1/17/66, this matter was discussed with NY 694-S* who, it is to be noted, has been in the hospital and convalescing for the past two months. The New York informant advised that he had given the \$800.00 in question to GUS HALL from his own personal funds, and that by reason of his hospitalization and convalescence had forgotten to notify the NYO to that effect. He stated that he will reimburse himself for this advance from Soviet funds in his custody, and that a record of the numbers of the bills involved will be submitted to the NYO.

This transaction will be reflected in the next NY letter accounting for Reserve Fund transactions during the month of January, 1966.

1-11344
②-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1-Chicago (134-46 Sub F) (AM RM)
1-NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:eac
(4)

REC-48

ST-105

12
100-428091-5313

6 JAN 24 1966



5010-108

File
JAN 25 1966
Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/14/66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)

SUBJECT: CG 5824-S*

X Conf. Inpt.

Re Chicago letter dated 9/15/65.

I. Recommendation

It is recommended that authority be granted to continue payments to CG 5824-S* in amounts up to \$1,500.00 per month for services rendered and normal expenses incurred during the four month period effective February 1, 1966.

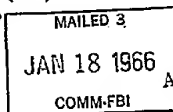
II. Residence and Employment

Unchanged.

III. Membership in Subversive Organizations

In December, 1961, GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, advised that leadership titles within the CP, USA, had been abolished but that respective leadership responsibilities would not be so eliminated. He advised at this time that certain boards and committees would continue to function as in the past and he advised CG 5824-S* that his, the source's, responsibilities would remain unchanged and this situation has continued to date. In view of HALL's foregoing statement and CG 5824-S*' current responsibilities, the source is presently considered to hold the following positions within the CP, USA:

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Chicago
- RWH/mes
- (3)



APPROVED JAN 19 1966
Date

1 JAN 20 1966

57 JAN 28 1966

MAIL ROOM

CG 134-46-Sub B

Ex-officio member, National Board,
CP, USA

Covert member, National Committee,
CP, USA

Head of National Review, Audit and
Appeals Commission, CP, USA

Secretary of Foreign Affairs
Committee, CP, USA

Official representative of the CP,
USA, to the CPs of the Soviet Union,
Canada, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, Poland,
German Democratic Republic, German
Federal Republic, Brazil and other
leading Communist and Workers Parties
throughout the world with whom the
CP, USA, maintains relations.

In addition to the foregoing, CG 5824-S* also
holds the following positions and/or membership within the
CP of Illinois:

Ex-officio member of Staff, CP
of Illinois

Ex-officio member of State Board,
CP of Illinois

Member of Professional Section,
CP of Illinois

IV. Summary of Information Furnished
Between September 16, 1965 and
January 14, 1966

During the pertinent period, CG 5824-S* has
continued to furnish top level coverage of the more important

CG 134-46-Sub B

phases of both open and covert activity of the CP, USA, on a local, national and international level.

During the present pertinent period, the source successfully undertook and completed the 19th SOLO mission, one of a 23 day duration, during which time he visited Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. In Czechoslovakia, the source participated in a symposium jointly sponsored by the CP of Czechoslovakia and the "World Marxist Review" and was a participant in a meeting with ANTONIN NOVOTNY, First Secretary, CP of Czechoslovakia. In the Soviet Union, the source met with M. A. SUSLOV and BORIS N. PONOMAREV, members of the secretariat and presidium of the CP, SU, and from whom he received current up-to-date briefing on the Communist position regarding Viet Nam and status of the relation between the CP, SU, and CP of China. During the visit to the Soviet Union, the source successfully negotiated with representatives of the CP, SU, for a subsidy to the CP, USA, in the amount of \$700,000.00 for 1966.

As in the past, CG 5824-S* has continued, during the pertinent period, to be one of the Communist confidants of GUS HALL and has held numerous covert private meetings with that individual. Through such contacts with HALL and other individuals in the leadership of the CP, USA, the source has, on a continuing basis, been able to furnish the Bureau with most of the important developments occurring within the CP, USA, as well as many of its secret activities. As in the past, the information furnished by CG 5824-S* has placed the Bureau in a position of knowing most of the significant details concerning the CP, USA's current operations and in many instances information furnished was received sufficiently in advance of scheduled activities which enable this Bureau to provide the necessary coverage thereof.

In the field of funds, CG 5824-S*, together with NY 694-S*, has been able to continue to supply detailed information concerning receipts of funds from abroad and

CG 134-46-Sub B

distribution of this money within the U.S. in connection with its daily operations as well as activities in the field of investments and businesses.

V. Amounts Paid for Services
and Expenses

September, 1965

\$750.00 on September 30, 1965, for services and expenses during period September 16 - 30, 1965.

\$250.00 on September 30, 1965, for unusual expenses in connection with trip to New York City, September 30 - October 4, 1965.

October, 1965

\$750.00 on October 15, 1965, for services and expenses during period October 1 - 15, 1965.

\$1,500.00 on October 15, 1965, as advance of money for services and expenses during period October 16 - November 15, 1965.

\$250.00 on October 7, 1965, for unusual expenses in connection with trip to New York City, October 7 - 13, 1965.

\$633.52 on October 4, 1965, as advance of money for expenses incurred in connection with trip to Los Angeles, October 4 - 6, 1965, by CG 5824-S* and CG 6653-S*, for purpose of securing U.S. passports. Of the foregoing amount, source returned to the Bureau \$69.80 as unused portion of expense money.

\$1,978.32 on October 15, 1965, as advance for expenses in connection with 19th SOLO mission scheduled to commence October 19, 1965.

CG 134-46-Sub B

November, 1965

\$750.00 on November 30, 1965, for services and expenses during period November 16 - 30, 1965.

December, 1965

\$750.00 on December 18, 1965, for services and expenses during period December 1 - 15, 1965.

\$750.00 on December 29, 1965, for services and expenses during period December 16 - 31, 1965.

\$250.00 on December 11, 1965, for unusual expenses in connection with trip to New York City, December 11 - 18, 1965.

\$250.00 on December 29, 1965, for unusual expenses in connection with trip to New York City, December 29, 1965 - January 4, 1966.

\$1,000.00 on December 29, 1965, as an award in connection with 19th SOLO mission.

In addition to the above, a sum in the amount of \$100.00 a month is currently being deposited in a special savings account maintained in the names of the SAC and ASAC, Chicago Division, for the future benefit of CG 5824-S*. For the months of September, October, November and December deposits were made to this special account. The total amount now being held in this special account, which is maintained at the First National Bank of Chicago, and in another account maintained at the Harris Trust and Savings Bank, Chicago, as of January 4, 1966, was \$14,315.05.

On the basis of the 1964 federal tax return submitted by CG 5824-S*, it was found that at least \$600.00 a month of the amount paid to the source was expended by him for normal expenses. On the basis of the above, the

CG 134-46-Sub B

Chicago Division now withholds the total of \$200.00 a month of moneys paid to the source for federal income tax purposes.

VI. Meetings and Other Activities

September 15, 1965

Telephonic contact,
NORMAN FREED, CP of
Canada representative,
Toronto, Ontario

September 16, 1965

Meeting with CLAUDE
LIGHTFOOT, leading
functionary, CP. of Illinois

September 17, 1965

Meeting with CLAUDE
LIGHTFOOT

September 18 - 22,
1965

Source ill and confined to
bed. During this period
source, however, maintained
telephonic contact with
local CP leaders, as well
as GUS HALL. In addition,
a number of local CP
representatives personally
contacted source during
this period, which included
JACK KLING, MAX WEINSTEIN,
etc.

September 24, 1965

Meeting with CLAUDE
LIGHTFOOT

September 26, 1965

Meeting with LOU DISKIN,
operator, Modern Book Store,
Chicago

CG 134-46-Sub B

September 28, 1965 Meeting with JACK KLING,
leading functionary, CP
of Illinois, and other Party
leaders

September 30, 1965 Meeting with MAX WEINSTEIN,
Chicago, and departure
for New York

September 30 -
October 3, 1965 At New York City. Individual
meetings with GUS HALL,
HELEN WINTER and other
National CP functionaries,
New York City

October 4 - 6, 1965 En route to and at Los
Angeles, California, for
purposes of securing U.S.
passport

October 4, 1965 Meeting in Chicago with
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT and
meeting with JACK KLING

October 7, 1965 En route New York City

October 8 - 12, 1965 At New York City. In
attendance four days for
National Board, CP, USA
meeting. Individual
meetings with CP, USA
leaders and attendance
at meeting involving
national leadership and
local CP of Illinois
functionaries.

October 13, 1965 Return Chicago.

October 16, 1965 Meeting with MAX WEINSTEIN
and depart New York City

CG 134-46-Sub B

October 16 - 19, 1965	At New York City. Individual meetings with GUS HALL, October 16, 17 and 18, 1965, for briefings concerning 19th SOLO mission.
October 19, 1965	Depart New York City on 19th SOLO mission
October 20, 1965	London, Amsterdam and Prague
October 20 - 25, 1965	At Prague and participated in meeting sponsored by CP, CZ, and "World Marxist Review." Met with First Secretary, CP, CZ.
October 25 - November 6, 1965	In Moscow. Meetings with members of Secretariat, CP, SU, and individuals of North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CP, SU.
November 6, 1965	To Prague, Czechoslovakia
November 6 - 10, 1965	In Prague. Meetings with representatives CP, CZ, and with representatives "World Marxist Review."
November 10 - 12, 1965	En route to and at Zurich, Switzerland
November 12, 1965	Return U.S. on 19th SOLO mission, arrive at Boston and proceed New York City

CG 134-46-Sub B

November 13, 1965	Meeting with GUS HALL, debriefing 19th SOLO mission
November 14, 1965	Return Chicago
November 15 - 18, 1965	Source ill at home.
November 18, 1965	Individual meeting with JACK KLING
November 19 - 21, 1965	Daily meetings with ARNOLD JOHNSON, Chicago, and meetings with CP of Illinois District functionaries
November 22, 1965	Individual meeting with JACK KLING
November 25, 1965	Proceed to New York City
November 26 - 30, 1965	At New York City. Individual meetings with GUS HALL, HENRY WINSTON, CARL WINTER, HELEN WINTER and other national functionaries.
November 30, 1965	Return Chicago
December 1, 1965	Meeting with JACK KLING, Chicago
December 2, 1965	Individual meetings with JACK KLING and [REDACTED] Telephone contact from Minneapolis by GUS HALL.
December 4 - 6, 1965	Daily covert meetings with GUS HALL, Chicago, as well as with ARNOLD JOHNSON.

b6
b7C

CG 134-46-Sub B

December 8, 1965

Meeting with MAX WEINSTEIN

December 9, 1965

Meeting with CLAUDE
LIGHTFOOT, leading
functionary, CP of Illinois,
returning from Soviet Union.

December 11, 1965

To New York City

December 18, 1965

In New York City. Individual
meetings with GUS HALL,
GLEN HARRIS, HELEN WINTER,
LENA SCHERER and other
CP, USA functionaries.

December 18, 1965

Return Chicago and met
with MAX WEINSTEIN

December 20, 1965

Meeting with JACK KLING

December 21, 1965

Meeting with JACK KLING

December 22 - 24,
1965

Individual contacts,
personal and telephonic,
CP of Illinois District
functionaries

December 29, 1965

To New York City

December 30, 1965 -
January 4, 1966

At New York City. Individual
meetings with GUS HALL,
December 30 and 31, 1965 and
January 1 and 2, 1966.
Meetings with ISADORE
NEEDLEMAN and [REDACTED]
for briefing regarding
trip to Poland and Soviet
Union.

January 4, 1966

Return to Chicago

CG 134-46-Sub B

January 5, 1966	Meeting with MAX WEINSTEIN
January 5 - 6, 1966	Individual meetings with JACK KLING
January 8, 1966	Individual meetings with LOU DISKIN and JACK KLING
January 9, 1966	Meeting with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
January 10, 1966	Meeting with JACK KLING
January 11, 1966	Meeting with MAX WEINSTEIN
January 12, 1966	Meeting with JACK KLING
January 13, 1966	En route to and at New York City. Meeting with HELEN WINTER.

VII. Reports Submitted

Written - none

Oral (reduced to writing) - approximately
200, of which 55 consisted of letterhead memoranda and
informant statements devoted solely to SOLO information.

VIII. Information Furnished of
Unusual Value

See Sections 4 and 6 above.

IX. Approximate Number of People on
Whom Informant Furnished Coverage
and Their Importance

It is estimated that during the current period

CG 134-46-Sub B

source furnished information on approximately 275 individuals, including nearly all of those in the top leadership of the CP, USA, as well as a number of individuals active in the international Communist movement.

X. Steps Taken to Advance
the Informant

As has been stated in the past, CG 5824-S* has reached the point of leadership within the CP, USA, where there remains an opportunity to rise to a higher organizational level without making a direct political challenge to the leadership of HALL or to the leadership of some other top Party functionaries. An effort to do this would possibly jeopardize the source's current high standing and, therefore, the Chicago Office continues to direct its efforts towards a goal that will enable CG 5824-S* to continue his own high level of activity but not placing himself in a position which might jeopardize his ability to furnish the Bureau ever-increasing information. At the present time, source is being considered as a delegate from the CP, USA, to the 23rd Congress, CP, SU, scheduled March, 1966. This would again be an indication that the source continues to hold his past position of trust and confidence in the mind of GUS HALL.

XI. Stability and Reliability

In the opinion of the contacting Agents, CG 5824-S* has no personal weaknesses nor has he given any indication of untrustworthiness or unreliability which could be a source of some future embarrassment to the Bureau. /-

XII. Indoctrination Against
Disclosure

Every possible effort has been made to properly 2-

CG 134-46-Sub. B

indoctrinate CG 5824-S* against making any disclosure of his relationship with the FBI through any media whatsoever.

XIII. Action Taken on Information
Furnished

Information furnished by informant has been or is in the process of being disseminated and where necessary the appropriate action is being recommended.

XIV. Miscellaneous

None

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *five*

DATE: January 21, 1966 *W*

FROM : C. F. Downing *comp*

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

fw Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 1/21/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 368 GR 69, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

5-Sullivan

REC-51

100-428091-5315

6 JAN 25 1966

Enclosure

EX-117

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS
HS:dek

(7)

ENCLOSURE

7-1
65 JAN 26 1966

NR 368 GR 69

1/21/66

WE HAVE A LETTER TO BIRCH FROM NEST REFERRED ON NEST POND RELA
TIONS. FULL TEXT MAY BE ^{IV} SENT TO SPRING THROUGH SISTER BET
HIN A WEEK IF SPRING IS READY TO PICK UP. MEANWHILE PLEASE ARR
ANGE MAPLE, S VISIT TO NEST DELEGATION TO READ THIS LETTER IN
ORDER TO BE ABLE TO INFORM BIRCH.

NR 368 GR 69

1/21/66

49051 14559 23642 07416 64574 79763 62866 81787 33467 87879
96255 29509 53268 32828 90560 60499 23004 63172 82112 09527
70046 28635 96962 57016 45212 36687 25804 73028 60819 75186
90300 30722 69645 41862 28601 59656 87099 31196 41348 17128
88704 85215 63501 81635 97723 97014 69135 30802 77890 81006
51755 42479 45903 32693 38780 34396 98067 68444 55335 62963
68282 42847 18778 04739 78186 96230 52186 79871 42438

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5315

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: January 20, 1966

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

On 1/20/66, the New York Office furnished the text of a message the informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

REC- 69 100-428091-5316

HS:drv

(7)

ENCLOSURE

6 JAN 27 1966

65 JAN 28 1966

1/20/66

REFEERED ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AS YOU NOW KNOW OUR BOXER LANE BARD
REPARATIONS ARE NOW UNDERWAY AND WILL REQUIRE MORE FINANCE
S THAT CANNOT BE STATED IN THE PUBLIC DOCUMENTS. WE FINISHED
#1965# TOTALLY WITHOUT FUNDS AND WITH LITTLE RESERVE. BOTH
HUB AND I URGENTLY SUGGEST THE EARLY EXPEDITING OF THE COLOU
R PRINTS. THIS IS NECESSARY SINCE OUR LANE BARD IS TAKING PLA
CE SIMULTANEOUSLY IN THE PERIOD OF COVE CONGRESSIONAL HOPS
AND ALSO WITH A LANE FULL PROJECT #3# TIMES THE SIZE AS IN #1965#
PLUS THE IMPORTANCE THAT THE WIDEST DISTRIBUTION OF OUR NEW
LANE PROGRAM TAKE PLACE. BIRCH HUB

54101 64465 05770 02873 20555 34300 17943 91285 62753 46324
14050 71969 46226 80999 39967 61753 97198 03044 60842 40335
96891 20426 84622 84109 57015 50924 59527 71900 53850 59274
27770 40159 33044 97942 74175 77488 91821 40730 57909 53839
25196 98470 43122 04521 26209 09249 38428 93250 81139 40345
23627 85351 54869 50427 24022 06084 35003 80130 72941 00866
43268 50313 23223 53552 06419 20542 07623 47038 17600 35979
31037 67461 40657 17914 53830 76252 66100 43442 12262 51029
35270 50278 20007 39917 65414 24109 04707 71714 95117 26192
88344 56254 84307 38168 35164 61137 20482 15839 51424 08407
31590 51020 30043 31899 22173 01636 55505 45304 38766 36244
82138 21202 80586 56279 57982 18690 03127 39840 24143 98835
47285 98014 08638 59260 02235 82883 27977 16324 65793 72328
64626 28288 76955 64380 69486 55124 27949 13801 01575 37521
45404 05363 09783 41998 49829 67098 29965 74205 46739

ENCLOSURE 100-428071-53116

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/19/66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReCGlet dated January 18, 1966, captioned as above setting forth contents of a letter from CG 5824-S* to WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary, CP of Canada, dated January 11, 1966.

On January 19, 1966, there was received at a Solo address maintained in Chicago a letter from WILLIAM KASHTAN to CG 5824-S* which was postmarked 7:30 p.m., January 17, 1966, at Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Set forth below are the contents of this message with parenthetical explanatory notes:

"Jan. 17th. 1966.

"Dear M (CG 5824-S*):

"thanks for your note (CG 5824-S*'s letter of January 11, 1966). The items (CP of China letters dated October 18 and November 5, 1965) will be sent on as suggested (to NY Solo drop). by now it probably is old stuff but part of the reading material one has to go thru.

"The wife and I became grandparents a few days ago - a young fellow. Both mother (Sue Klayman, Kashtan's daughter) and child are doing well and the grandparents and father are holding up as best they can. A bit of cheery news to us at least.

"Hope everyone is well.

"all the best,

as ever,

B. (Bill Kashtan)"

1-813RB
②-Bureau (RM)
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

65 JAN 28 1966

(4)

CG 134-46 Sub B

Inasmuch as CG 5824-S* is currently in New York City, the original of this letter was furnished to CG 6653-S who was traveling on January 19, 1966, to join CG 5824-S* in New York City. CG 6653-S will turn the original of this note over to CG 5824-S*.

As you can see from the contents noted above, no action is required as a result of this note although it is possible that either CG 5824-S* or NY 694-S* may wish to extend felicitations to WILLIAM KASHTAN on the birth of a new grandson.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

REC-34

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/18/66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

ReNYairtel dated January 10, 1966, setting forth contents of letter received at a New York Solo drop from WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP) of Canada, dated January 5, 1966. This letter requested the CP, USA to advise the address to which the CP of Canada should send copies of two letters from the CP of China dated October 8 and November 5, 1965.

On January 11, 1966, CG 5824-S* advised he transmitted that date the following answer to KASHTAN:

"We thank you very much for your note of the fifth. Herb (Herbert Aptheker) is back and I am sure he will have a lot of news. Will you please send the material on the family quarrel to the same address (the New York drop address).

"Yes, you are right. Nature is taking its toll. Jack S. (Stachel) went too fast after his birthday. We tried very much to keep him, but I guess nature was against us and science could not help us." (This was in reply to Kashtan's comments regarding the recent death of Jack Stachel.)

CG 5824-S* advised that this note to KASHTAN was sent to a new drop address for the CP of Canada which had been furnished to HY LUMER by KASHTAN for delivery to CG 5824-S* which LUMER did on CG 5824-S*'s most recent trip to New York City. This new address is as follows:

J. A. KLEINSTEIN
25 Kilbarr Road
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

REC-34

100-428091-5318

② Bureau (RM).
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
1-Chicago

6 JAN 27 1966

WAB:MDW
(4)

65 JAN 28 1966

letter to be rep'd
Off-wa
1-28-66
WAB:MDW

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 1/21/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 1/21/66 there was received from the Soviets, via radio, a ciphered-partially coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"We have a letter to Gus Hall from USSR Central Committee on USSR-China relations. Full text may be given to Jack Brooks through Sister Beth in a week if Jack Brooks is ready to pick up. Meanwhile please arrange James Jackson's visit to USSR delegation to read this letter in order to be able to inform Gus Hall."

In the above message, Jack Brooks refers to source, and Sister Beth refers to pre-arranged drop in NYC.

NY 694-S* advised that USSR delegation above undoubtedly refers to USSR UN Delegation, NYC.

- 103 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub C (N. TALANOV)(341)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
 (8)

100-428091-53 19
 6 JAN 27 1966

Approved: [Signature]
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

65 JAN 28 1966

Legat, Ottawa

1/26/66

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Shaw

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

5060

Information has been received from an extremely delicate source that the Communist Party of Canada recently supplied the Communist Party, USA, with a new mail drop address for communications being sent to the Canadian Communist Party. This new mail drop address is as follows: J. Kleinstein, 25 Kilbarry Road, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Promptly furnish the above information to your source [redacted] preferably to [redacted]. Your [redacted] source should be requested to furnish any available data in [redacted] concerning J. Kleinstein. You should impress upon your [redacted] source that due to the very delicate nature of our source, it is essential that no distribution or use of our intelligence information be undertaken which would be likely to jeopardize the security of our source.

b6
b7C
b7D

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

MAILED 3
JAN 26 1966

WGS:pah
(5)

NOTE:

Hyman Lumer, CPUSA Educational Secretary, recently returned from Canada where he met with William Kashtan, General Secretary, Communist Party of Canada. Lumer furnished to CG 5824-S* the new mail drop address for the Canadian CP.

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

57 FEB 2 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC- 69/100-428091-5320

ST-102

JAN 26 1966

JAN 26 1966

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 1/17/66

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies of an informant's statement captioned "Information Regarding Preparations for Travel of Isadore Needleman and [redacted] to Poland and Other Socialist Countries."

The information appearing in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished on January 4 and 6, 1966, by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

REC-61

100-428091-5321
6 JAN 27 1966

2 - Bureau (Encl. 2) (RM)
1 - Chicago

RWH:MDW

(3)

69 FEB 1 1966

b6
b7C

INFORMATION REGARDING PREPARATIONS FOR TRAVEL
OF ISADORE NEEDLEMAN AND [REDACTED] TO
POLAND AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

b6
b7C

In preparation for his departure to Warsaw, Poland, with [REDACTED] Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), to negotiate for the delivery of a purebred Arabian Polish stallion to Gus Hall in the USA, several briefing sessions were held with Isadore Needleman as well as with [REDACTED] during the period December 30, 1965, through January 2, 1966. In connection with this briefing, Needleman was provided with a number of documents which he carried with him and which were to be delivered or shown to appropriate Party representatives in the countries which he might visit. Set forth below are the texts of the written documents Needleman carried with him upon his departure abroad which occurred on January 3, 1966:

Document #1

December 29, 1965

Central Committee
Polish United Workers Party

Dear Comrades:

This will introduce to you Comrade Isidore Needleman and Comrade [REDACTED] who are traveling in your country and to other socialist countries on some missions of trade. Comrade [REDACTED]. Anything that you can do to facilitate their stay in your country and their further travel would be greatly appreciated by us.

b6
b7C

With warmest fraternal regards,

Gus Hall
General Secretary
National Committee
Communist Party, U.S.A.

Document #2

- 1 -

ENCLOSURE
100-425571-5321

December 29, 1965

Central Committee
Communist Party of the
Soviet Union

Dear Comrades:

b6
b7C

Comrade Isidore Needleman and Comrade [redacted] at my suggestion would like to visit the USSR for a few days. This would be the first time that Comrade [redacted] has ever been out of the United States and the first time he visited your country. I would appreciate anything you can do to facilitate their travel into your country and their stay in your country.

With warm fraternal greetings,

Gus Hall
General Secretary
National Committee
Communist Party, U.S.A.

In connection with the above document, this was to be delivered in Warsaw, Poland, to the CP of the Soviet Union representative at the Soviet Embassy for the purpose of assisting in the securing of visas for Needleman and Hallberg to go to the Soviet Union from Warsaw.

Document #3

December 29, 1965

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Dear Comrades:

b6
b7C

Comrade Isidore Needleman and Comrade [redacted] are traveling through some socialist countries on the way back to the U.S.A. They have their own transportation arrangements but they would very much like to spend some days in your country even if only a brief visit. We would appreciate anything you can do to make this visit possible and memorable.

With warmest fraternal regards,

Gus Hall
General Secretary
National Committee
Communist Party, U.S.A.

In connection with this document, it was to be retained in the possession of Needleman and not surrendered at any time during his travel. It was to be used to assist in securing visas from Party representatives to other socialist countries; for example, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic, etc., in which either Needleman or [redacted] or both might desire to visit.

b6
b7c

Document #4

December 29, 1965

Central Committee
Communist Party of the
Soviet Union

Dear Comrades:

Up to now we have not yet discussed the question of invitations for Comrades of the Communist Party, U.S.A. to your country for the year 1966. However, since Comrade Isidore Needleman and Comrade [redacted] (who is [redacted] Gus Hall, our General Secretary) are traveling to some other socialist countries, we would appreciate your reception of these Comrades even if only for a short period of time. We are sorry that the limited time did not permit us to inform you in advance. We hope that despite this you will be able to arrange a brief visit for these Comrades to the USSR.

b6
b7c

With fraternal greetings,

Morris Childs
Secretary of International Affairs
National Board, National Committee
Communist Party, U.S.A.

This document was to be delivered by Needleman on his arrival in Moscow, USSR, to either Nikolai V. Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section, International Department, Central Committee, CP of the Soviet Union, or to his assistant, Igor Mikhailov. For additional security in carrying this document, it had been folded and placed in a cigarette package which Needleman was carrying with him. To facilitate the delivery of the document to either of the above-noted individuals, Needleman was provided with the telephone number at the Central Committee for Igor Mikhailov. When concluding this meeting with either Mostovets or Mikhailov, Needleman was to turn over to them for the benefit of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union a draft of the newly completed program of the CP, USA.

Needleman also carried along with him certain gifts in the form of pens, refills, etc., which were to be delivered to certain CP representatives in Moscow, Prague, and East Berlin. They were to be presented to these Party representatives in the name of the Secretary of International Affairs on behalf of the CP, USA. In addition, Needleman was given several copies of the current "World Almanac" and several copies of the book "A Thousand Days - John F. Kennedy in the White House," by Arthur S. Schlesinger, Jr. Needleman also had with him a special set of pens and pencils for Mostovets' son which Mostovets had requested be secured as a birthday present for his son.

Needleman was also provided with a transistor which (first name unknown) Sharif, a staff member of the "World Marxist Review," Prague, Czechoslovakia, had requested during November, 1965. This transistor, purchased in New York, was for a Philip Stereo Tape Recorder EL 35 FY and was a part needed in connection with volume control for this machine. Needleman also had with him a New Year's greeting card which contained a ten dollar bill which was to be presented to Harry Yaris in Warsaw, Poland.

To further facilitate their travels, in case they should travel to countries other than Poland and the Soviet Union, Needleman was furnished the telephone numbers for the following individuals:

Frantisek Kopta
Representative of the International
Department, Central Committee, CP
of Czechoslovakia, Prague

Heinz Birch
Representative of the International
Department, Central Committee, Socialist
Unity Party of Germany, Berlin

b6
b7c

Specifically, in regard to negotiations for the purebred stallion, both Noedleman and [] were told not to become involved in a price haggle or an argument with government trade representatives. If any problem should arise regarding this matter, they were instructed to contact the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and explain that this was a matter previously raised and settled through the Polish Ambassador in Moscow. They were also told that if they were not satisfied with the pedigree for the horse or on other details regarding the transaction, they should not hesitate to reject the offer.

F B I

Date: 1/25/66

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 1/25/66, there was received from the Soviets, via radio, a ciphered-coded message, the plain text of which is as follows:

"To GUS HALL

"Money sent to USA already and may be given to JACK BROOKS in February."

- 1-813R3
- 1 - Bureau (RM)
 - 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
 - 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 - 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
(7)

ST-102

6 JAN 28 1966

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *JWC*
FROM : C. F. Downing *CFD/DPW*
SUBJECT: SOLO
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: January 25, 1966 *any*

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan ☒ _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 1/25/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 684 GR 25, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

J
ENCLOSURE
Enclosure

REC-21

5- Shaw
100-428091-5323

6 JAN 28 1966

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

RR
HS:dek
(7)
any
Ex 16

65 FEB 1 1966

NR 684 GR 25

1/25/66

TO BIRCH COLOUR PRINTS ARE SENT TO COVER ALREADY AND MAY BE
VENT TO SPRING IN FEBRUARY.

NR 684 GR 25

1/25/66

30796 22496 95480 06552 01007 12050 27706 84347 56124 05455

79068 05373 72812 64112 14904 36585 37420 56644 50489 09022

33711 35701 76372 05543 03719

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5323

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 1/24/66

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

On 1/21/66, NY 694-S* transmitted to the Soviets, through a drop, a number of microfilmed messages, one of which was coded, several of which were partially coded, and several plain text.

The following message was in cipher code:

"Central Committee - ~~Confidential~~. As you now know our CPUSA convention preparations are now under way and will require more finances that cannot be stated in the public documents. We finished 1965 totally without funds and with little reserve. Both CG 5824-S* and I urgently suggest the early expediting of the money. This is necessary since our CP convention is taking place simultaneously in the period of U. S. Congressional elections and also with a CP youth project 3 times the size as in 1965, plus the importance that the widest distribution of our new CP program take place.

"GUS HALL - CG 5824-S*"

1-8315

- 1-3 - Bureau (Enc.) (RM)
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub C (N. TALANOV) (341)
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb
 (8)

REC-35

100-428091-5324

6 JAN 28 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent _____

M

Per _____

65 FEB 9 1966

Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-134637

The following message was in partial code:

"IMPORTANT

"Your radio message of January 21 received. Both CG 5824-S* and HALL advise that if JACKSON not available today for visit to USSR Delegation to UN to read letter, JACK BROOKS is ready to pick up this letter tomorrow, Saturday, January 22, at next drop, which is drop Catherine, (Shandon Bar & Restaurant, 14 East 23rd Street, Men's Wash Room, wash basin left side), at same time 2:30 PM. The reason for this urgency to pick up text tomorrow is that this letter may be published before HALL receives your text.

"If I pick up text at drop Catherine, I will acknowledge by telephone to either 682-9511 or MU 2-9885.

"JACK BROOKS"

"If no pickup of this letter on Saturday at drop Catherine then advise by next radio message for day which I can again pick up this letter at same place, drop Catherine.

"JACK BROOKS"

"After drop Catherine, then drop Donna is next."

The following message was in partial code:

"CCGFSU

"Situation in National Council of American-Soviet Friendship (NCASF) is again most serious and JESSICA SMITH stresses that there is every danger of NCASF closing its doors. All this is taking place despite the good work of JESSICA SMITH and NCASF which recently has made its periodical into an important factor in this important and critical period in USA in the people's struggle for peace. Our additional help helped its closing up so far. No one as yet from USSR institutions both cultural or otherwise have talked with or met with JESSICA SMITH. I strongly urge that you look into this and that JESSICA SMITH must be talked to in next several days.

"GUS HALL"

NY 100-134637

The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU

"Please answer as soon as possible my letter to CCCPSU about the number of guests and visitors and delegations to USSR for the year of 1966.

"CG 5824-S*"

The following message was in partial code:

"Important Note.

"This will acknowledge your instructions to me regarding drops and micro-transceivers time. Also this will advise you that your first radio schedule of January and February received OK on December 24th, and it was acknowledged the same night by telephone. Acknowledgment phone may have been out of order. Since otherwise you would have not have had to repeat same radio message - advise you check your acknowledgment phones before to determine whether or not phone bell rings.

"JACK BROOKS"

The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU

"Dear Comrades:

Comrades WINSTON and HALL want to thank you for the care and patience you have shown in connection with the treatment and handling of [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

"Comrades HALL and WINSTON want to ask you to consider the following in regards to [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

"1. That you do not send him back to the USA at this time.

"2. That he goes to work in a factory rather than study. He does not have to work in Moscow, but if he can be placed in another city this would be agreeable with us.

NY 100-134637

b6
b7C

"If [] is sent back to the USA immediately it would break his morale. We feel beyond correction. That is why we propose this alternative.

"If this is not possible in the light of your circumstances, then of course there is no choice but to send him back.

"With fraternal greetings,

"CG 5824-S*"

The following message was in partial code:

"CCCPUSU

"Dear Comrades

"We want to inform you that the campaign carried on by some Ghanian students in Moscow, Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, etc., charging deliberate white chauvinism in these Socialist countries, especially in relation to the question of women has its source in the CIA according to Comrade HENRY WINSTON and other Negro comrades.

"We are now trying to get a document that is supposed to show the why of this provocation. When we do we shall transmit it to you.

"CG 5824-S*"

NY 100-134637

Among the microfilmed messages sent to the Soviets were the following attached documents, in plain text, which concern the recent enlarged meeting of the CPUSA National Committee held at the Hotel Wellington, NYC, between 1/15-17/66. These documents were prepared by CG 5824-S* and are self-explanatory.

(It will be noted that there is a reference to CG 5824-S*'s sending to the Soviets a copy of a draft political resolution that will be presented at the coming CPUSA National Convention. This document has already been furnished to the Bureau and Chicago as reflected in NYairtel, 1/17/66, captioned "CPUSA-ORGANIZATION, IS-C.")

On 1/21/66, NY 694-S* advised that the drop described above was cleared by the Soviets at 2:30 PM on the aforesaid date.



100-428091-5324

2

January 1966

C.C.C.P.S.U.

Dear Comrades:

I am enclosing some notes on the last meeting of our National Committee. Naturally some matters in connection with the convention for security reasons will be handled in sub-committees.

Not all decisions are in the notes since they are still being discussed by the N.B. and the secretariat.

The agenda consisted of the following points.

1. Report by Comrade Gus Hall on the present political situation and the tasks of the CPUSA.
2. A draft of a general political resolution to be placed before the Party for the pre-convention discussion - Hy Lumer for the sub-committee reporter.
3. Convention proposals, setting of dates, representation, constitutional changes, referendums for changing of rules, etc . Danny Rubin for the N.B. reporter.
4. Miscellaneous - by Winston, such as the appointment of Carl Winter as editor in chief of the Worker and the release of Jim Jackson from that position to give him time to write a book on the Negro question in the USA.

Dear comrades, this last meeting of the N.C. was truly an inspirational one indicating the growth of the CPUSA and its spreading influence. Our Party is getting "younger" and refreshed by the youth that was present at the plenary session and will of course be a part of the National Convention and the new leadership after June 1966.

Comrade G. H. is once again trying to obtain a passport. If he does he will attend your Party Congress as a fraternal delegate. The lawyers are working on this matter.

We sent you a copy of our draft program. We are sending you another copy since it is now at the printers to be set up ready for the middle of February.

~~ENCLOSURE~~

3

We are also enclosing a draft political resolution to be presented to our convention. All these documents and notes are still confidential. Comrade G. H.'s report may be published in summary form soon.

With warmest fraternal greetings and regards,

Hub

N.Y. Jan. 20, 1966

Notes on report of ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ to PLENARY
meeting of NC, CPUSA, mid-1/66 JAN. 15 THROUGH 17

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
UNCORRECTED

FROM NOT ⁴⁰max 08
HUB

The fact of this meeting is symbolic of the new status of our Party. This new status is symbolized by a number of recent developments such as the fact that Burt Nelson must actually leave this meeting early in order to be back on the job on the Seattle waterfront as a member of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, having defeated the effort to bar him from employment because of his political beliefs. Herb A. had to rush back here from Hanoi in order to make this meeting. Al R. and Mike Z. are getting ready to go to Rome for the Congress of the Italian Party. Others, such as Fred B. and Tommy D., are just back from a trip to Moscow in time to make this meeting of the NC.

There are two problems which are before this meeting. The first of these will be to make the final plans for the public release of our Party program. We are already receiving orders for it. The second problem will be to make the final decisions for the calling of our National Convention.

So, you can see, we are stepping out on the political scene. Also, these events are symbolic of a challenge to our leadership. Whatever we do is not pre-determined; we can grasp this movement or we can lose the opportunity. In fact, the political tide can roll us back if we are not ready. But I am confident that we will meet this challenge.

Today we face a threefold task: 1) to bring our Party up to date; 2) to assess the new mass development; and, 3) to determine the steps necessary to meet the challenge of the moment. I will not repeat at this meeting the conclusions of past reports. Our purpose is to open up new perspectives and give direction to our Party.

US imperialist aggression is the pivotal fact of the world situation today. It affects everything. The ugly American is getting uglier. The cry "Yankee go home" is getting louder. The US is becoming more isolated than ever. The US is trying to get world support for its policy but is failing. US imperialism is suffering defeats all along the line while the anti-imperialists are advancing and are invincible.

However, these very frustrations of US imperialism lead to dangers. They lead to new confrontations and resulting dangers. But just like mine fields, such confrontations have hazards but cannot stop the advance of peoples.

In a historic sense, US imperialism is continuing to make a historic miscalculation on the direction of history and the relation of forces in the world. US imperialism has misjudged the people's liberation movement by underestimating it. The US thought that the liberation movement is but "temporary" and could be drowned in blood. US imperialism has also misjudged the power of the socialist world. They miscalculated it in Vietnam. They miscalculated it in the Dominican invasion. US imperialists thought a "few Marines" would do it, but this was wishful thinking. This was the same mistake as was made in the Bay of Pigs invasion. US imperialism drew wrong conclusions from the overthrow of the Guatemalan Government. Actually, US imperialism really thinks it can be a world policeman.

As a matter of fact, not a single country in NATO, SEATO, or CENTO, etc., really supports US imperialism even in the capitalist world. Here is another instance where the US misjudged. These other powers are not taking part in the US imperialist aggression and this will lead to disaster for the US. Also, US imperialism did not properly judge the temper of the people of the US--its computers were wrong. The people voted for peace against racism but Johnson thought the "consensus" shell game would work. But no political force can underestimate the fact that the people in motion in the US peace movement are a larger group than those who favor war. The dilemma produced by Johnson's miscalculation has prompted the current "peace campaign."

The US must agree to end its aggression in Vietnam and deal with the victims of aggression--the National Liberation Front. So far, however, there are no signs that the US is ready to change its course. US aggression is trying to take in peace what it cannot get in war, but this, too, will fail.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

But we must not be one-sided in our assessment. We must also consider the activities of the UN, of the Vatican, of SNCC and of the Julian Bond movement. There is a growing awareness that the US miscalculation is leading to disaster. Even the politicians see this. The US cannot long continue this policy of aggressive involvement. Already some want to compromise and the US had to consider the effect the bombings are having on world opinion. Under the cover of "seeking peace" the US may really escalate the war and step up the bombings. It is no secret that the Pentagon is going to use even more lethal gases. This is shocking but the people are becoming more aware.

We must realize that at some point in this struggle we will have to take a stand and give support to those forces of US imperialism who will want to negotiate and end the war. The ultra-right will raise their voices to try to stop this. We must be prepared. If we now take the position that we are against negotiation on principle, then when representatives of US imperialism are ready for retreat and negotiations, we will find ourselves supporting the ultra-right.

Some of our youth suffer from the disease of the "revolutionary phrase" as Lenin said. Our "silence" has helped the ultra-right warhawk crowd during these weeks of the bombing pause. Instead, we should be mobilizing the peace movement. The peace forces of the world will turn back imperialist aggression. The question is how much are we prepared to sacrifice and when. It is clear that US imperialism is guilty of premeditated aggression.

The example of the negotiations carried out in Tashkent provides the contrast to the US imperialist aggression. Policy of the USSR is entirely correct. Starting from the viewpoint of uniting the forces of anti-imperialism, the USSR is able to play this role of mediator because the USSR follows in practice the theory of equality of nations. Also, the USSR has understood the two processes of peace and liberation. These two "new nations" understood this position of the USSR.

The processes of the world Marxist movement have a bearing on the struggle against imperialism. Last year most of the Parties of the world were in confusion but this has now ended. These Parties are now drawing the lessons they previously did not recognize. This will lead to a broader offensive against US imperialism. This is showing itself at the Tri-Continental Solidarity Conference in Havana. The forces of dissension are being isolated and later we will also have more light shed on the situation in Algeria, Indonesia, etc.

Turning now to our domestic situation, it can be seen that the aggression in Vietnam casts its shadow upon the US economy. It is the shadow of inflation, war profits, increased taxes, the scuttling of public works, etc. The shadow of aggression is also influencing the 1966 elections. The politicians are demanding sacrifices from the people, both economic and constitutional. Cuts in the Appalachia aid program are the first result. It is a fraud to say that we can have both guns and butter. The question is how do we cut corporation profits. The GOP is using this war to demand a cut in the living standards of the poor people. A vigorous fight is necessary against price increase, higher taxes, etc., and we must organize the people on these economic questions. New initiative and organization are needed.

In regard to the President's State of the Union address, it was a speech of frustration and indecision and yet it was full of demagoguery. However, there are a few "political handles" that can be used. Last year Johnson spoke about increased trade with socialist countries. But he did nothing about it. Since the last meeting of the NC, the peace movement has advanced on a broad base. People now see that the source of aggression is here in the US. There have been demonstrations in NY. The youth have been the spearhead of demonstrations in Berkeley. Many ads have appeared in the newspapers. The teachers sponsored such an ad and have money for two more ads. Women Strike for Peace had such an ad. A new element is the peace movement in the Catholic Church. Martin Luther King has launched a campaign for peace. Jewish leaders have issued a statement calling for peace.

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The Ad Hoc Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam is a good example of this broad movement. When Staughton Lynd asked Herb A. what makes men struggle, he was expressing the thoughts of millions of Americans. Anti-imperialist education is the task of our Party, but we have been lagging. The Ad Hoc Committee is not this anti-imperialist organization. We need trade union committees for peace throughout the country. The NY trade union committee is a good example.

Let us look at some specific problems and decisions. We must make a sharp break with past practices. Our emphasis must be on the working class and trade unions. The future of progress in the peace movement, in civil rights, and among youth, depends on how the working class will react to events. The working class determines how far social events will go and their final content. The new factor making the working class role possible is related to the victories we have won against the Taft-Hartley Law, the Landrum-Griffin Act, and the McCarran Act. Burt Nelson's victory is symbolic of these victories. These release the trade unions from the bonds of reaction. These laws were enacted to stop militants and communists. Now, trade unions can elect a communist to office again.

Our attitude on these events is important. Our Party, too, has been influenced by the middle class ideology. If we underestimate the role of trade unions and the working class, we will be out on our ear. Remember, that in not all trade union leaders are "fakers." Our task is to convince the workers that their organizations can play a leading role. They must be convinced that we are not out to take over trade unions on any level. We are just educators and members of the working class.

Despite today's industrial boom, there is still a class confrontation. Creeping automation continues and job security is uncertain. This fact is at the base of every sharp labor struggle. The military draft and the war boom temporarily eases these problems, but they will become more critical in time. You cannot sweep the technological employment problem under the economic rug. The NY transportation workers' strike has exposed how close the nerve is to the surface. The "veneer" of "no class" went up in smoke in the so-called negotiations at the Hotel Americana. The right to strike and the right to revolution are connected: they just can't be given to labor. President Johnson seemed to call for the abolition of Section 14B of the Taft-Hartley Law and for compulsory arbitration. The right to strike would be replaced by compulsory arbitration. Government intervention in labor disputes and the so-called Presidential "guidelines" have effectively blocked low-paid workers from gaining their demands. There are no government guidelines to control profits. There is no government policy to prevent layoffs. Such a policy will be gained only through struggle. This idea of the "third Party" role of the government hurts the poorly organized.

The steel strike settlement provides a dangerous pattern of state monopoly capitalism by government edict. Injunctions, fines, etc., are the dangerous anti-labor tools of today. Government policing of labor will sap trade unions of their strength. Trade unions will lose their independence and become captive unions unless such actions are stopped. These actions are disastrous for labor. When these rights are taken away from unions as a wartime measure, they are rarely returned except through struggles. If "the public interest" opposes higher wages, we must expose the so-called "public interest" as anti-labor. If we can get the government to intervene on the side of labor, that is in the interest of our working class. If government intervention is anti-labor, then we ~~will~~ are against it. This is not contradictory to Marxism.

We must take working class unity as our starting point. This is a political long term concept. It embraces: 1) unity in existing trade unions; 2) unity of Negro and white trade unionists; and, 3) organization of the unorganized. There is no need to argue with you for the need to bring the Teamsters, the miners, and the railroad workers into the AFL-CIO. If this happens, there will occur a qualitative change in the AFL-CIO on all levels. There is a movement in this direction now. The push for trade union unity must include

the need for labor solidarity. The press was angrier about the unity of labor behind the transit strike than it was about the strike itself.

The question of Negro-white solidarity affects trade unions and the class struggle. We are equipped to give the ideological lead on this front. We must raise the level of thinking among the rank and file of the trade unions. This is not a problem beyond solution. Democracy in trade unions demands the elections of communists and progressives at least on the lower levels. We have unique qualifications for this ideological struggle to erase white chauvinism and to develop the class consciousness. The organization of the unorganized is a key question of this unity--especially in the South. There is a need to mobilize the rank and file in the unions for this fight. We will help to organize it.

Why this emphasis on the rank and file? This is because: 1) without unity we cannot meet the effects of automation; 2) the rank and file is a political force; 3) the working class cannot build alliances of Negro and whites without the unity of the rank and file; and, 4) without unity, the working class cannot be the leading class. This unity of the rank and file will give us the necessary leverage to move our class.

There is one other weakness which I have isolated here for special emphasis. I am referring to the Meany-Lovestone axis which is a part of US imperialist aggression. They are not "misled"--they are misleading others. They are willing tools and an arm of CIA. They prove the truth of the John L. Lewis argument that no member of a corporation can be a member of labor. The Meany-Lovestone axis has given lip service to civil rights, but it is only lip service.

The change in the leadership of some unions is an expression of the rank and file. The United Steel Workers elected I.W. Abel because he was against becoming a tuxedo union. The question is not whether "to blast" or "not to blast" trade union leadership, but which union leadership should be attacked. How we do it is another question. We must do it in a way that will cause concern among rank and file members for their unions. We must not get into a situation where we sound like those who belong to corporations. We can be effective if we, ourselves, ~~xxxx~~ are involved in the solution of working class problems. We must be concrete on policy and leaders and we must have alternatives. We can use resolutions and guides to action and what may be demagoguer for them can be tools for us. If we are to be effective, we must work in this concrete way. Honest trade union leaders will welcome our support and organization if we prove that our efforts are not aimed against them.

There must be a change in the life of trade union locals. If this is not possible, then we can try other forms of struggle. For example, in Dave Dubinsky's union (ILGWU) we must get a voice for the Negro and the Puerto Rican workers. There is a left sector in trade unions and we must find expressions for this sector or forms of expression. CP members must become active in the trade unions. New ways for our activity will have to be found. This can be through shop papers, shop gate distributions, etc. Unless Party members are convinced that we have a unique contribution to make in trade unions, then the trade unionists will not make this shift. This will not be easy.

There is a crisis in the big cities. For some it means slums, subways, dirt etc. For us it means the demand of the working class, both Negro and white, for influence and power.

An examination of the explosion in Watts exposed the generations of poverty exploitation and Jim Crowism. The Watts explosion exposed the meaninglessness of the anti-poverty program. It exposed how far removed from the ghetto are the political Parties, including ours. In order to have meaning, the civil rights victories of the last few years must break through the economic barriers. It is basic that the roots of discrimination are in economics. We are now at the crossroads where the civil rights struggle meets the class struggle, both allied against the profit structure.

New laws are not the solution to this problem. The Department of Justice and their "test cases" are but camouflage for inaction. How long will this

on? The federal government does nothing to stop the murderers and ~~terrorists~~ torturers in the South. Attorney General Katzenbach only says "That's how things are." We must stop the terror against the civil rights movement and the Negro people in the South. If this is not done, then the same terror will be unleashed against the trade unions in the South. The unseating of Julian Bond from the Georgia Legislature shows how thin is the veneer of capitalist democracy. The struggle has now been joined: on the one hand are civil rights and democracy against an aggressive, dirty war; on the other hand is just the opposite, Jim Crow, oppression and war.

Some general guidelines can be formed for the 1966 elections. The tactics of 1964 still apply but the relation of forces has changed and, therefore, there must be some new tactics with emphasis on local action. There is a feeling among the people that the Johnson Administration has broken its promises on foreign policy and there is a general suspicion regarding the Administration that it is dealing from the bottom of the deck. If the progressives can be taken for granted, then they will lose their political influence. If the progressives go it alone they become isolated. But in coalition within Democratic primaries, progressives can play a very important role. This is because there are politicians looking for ways and means to separate themselves from the Administration. Therefore, independent forms are the order of the day even if we use the old Parties. We should initiate movements that separate the people and candidates from the Party machine. Thus, new forms will be utilized side by side with old forms.

Our outlook in many areas should be toward winning the elections with peace candidates and civil rights candidates. The people are looking forward to our having candidates. We must do so now and against announce these candidates now. If we have to withdraw them, we can do so later. We still have legal problems but we are in a different situation than in the past. While we have ~~won~~ won many rights, we still have the McCarran Act cases which can be won only by struggle. Unquestionably, the Supreme Court decision in our favor is a reflection of political ~~reality~~ reality. It is a breakthrough against red-baiting. It opens doors previously closed against us. In the past, we have looked for hidden meanings under the welcome mats put out by those mass organizations in which we were accepted and yet we still follow the old paths. We should follow the example set by Arnold J. and Jim W. and others who are actively working in the peace movement. This acceptance of communists in these organizations makes for a new atmosphere in which to work.

A most important event was our announcement over radio, television, and in the press of the vindication in the courts of the position of the CP and the announcement of the issuing of our program. This is really our first pre-convention document for public discussion. But where are the mass agencies in which we are in the leadership? What we need are "handles" or "forms" to lead these movements for peace, civil rights, etc. Initiative is what we need. Initiative!

We need to take a look at our mass propaganda activity! Are we a part of the continuing dialogue? Are we a part of movements, moods, etc.? The mood is important. Do we inspire those who just became aware of life and struggle? I pose these questions in the form of self-criticism. Our "new freedom" should be reflected in our press and literature. We must provide help to revamp our papers and distribution. We must project ourselves outward as a legal press must do.

As J. Edgar Hoover has already announced, there has been some growth in the CP--but it is not enough. ~~We are still~~ We are still afraid of people. We seem to only want to recruit "communists," not those who want to join. Perhaps my campaign against smoking may be a bar to recruitment. Let's just teach Marxism and after that the harmfulness of smoking. This must become a period of reconstitution, the rehabilitation of our Party. It must be a reconstruction of our Party. Committees at all levels must be refreshed. We must have spokesmen in all areas. We must also raise the question of the struggle against white chauvinism. Struggle must be ideological and must be put part of our ~~campaign~~ convention. The convention must reflect politics and all that goes with it. It must be a political demonstration--a free unfettered discussion. We want to debate.

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Notes on Gus Hall's Summary: Jan. 17, 1966

A word about the program. A lot of work was put into the program. Many comrades worked on this program beyond the call of duty. They deserve commendation. I would cite

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I also want to thank Herb Aptheker for his contribution during his trip to Hanoi and after. The discussion was an excellent one; some should be on tape, and can be used for the pre-convention discussion. This meeting was a dialectical process of movement. This shapes our Party. This process, like the relation between the sun, soil and rain, influences one another. When our political environment stops influencing us, we would stop growing. The phrase used at this meeting about "a positive spirit" is a good one. We should each of us take a look at ourselves in Madison Avenue style and say, have I got something? Now about some specific questions of the report and the discussion. It would be wrong to say, "now" we are going to turn our face to the working class. What we are doing now is only emphasizing this fact. We are not counterpoising one movement against another. If we want to advance peace, civil rights, etc., we must strengthen ourselves among the working class, the organized section first of all, meaning the trade unions. We must know the currents and the moods in the working class. It would be wrong to measure the level of the trade union membership by the last resolution on foreign

policy adopted at the AFL-CIO convention. The level of consciousness is much higher among the workers than it was at the AFL-CIO convention. We must also be sensitive to the new factors in the working class, especially among the Negro workers. These Negro workers influence the level of consciousness of the entire working class. The factors that stirred the youth are affecting the working class also. These are the development of nuclear energy, the danger of a nuclear war, the progress of automation. The undercurrents are there. We must understand these so that we can give spark and leadership to these movements. There are some dangers that our Party is not sensitive to these undercurrents.

On the question as to why did we not emphasize the working class before - let's be careful and not oversimplify. We needed further experiences to comprehend the situation. The Party was not ready for this approach because of wrong influences inside our ranks, "middle class" thinking. By preparations and work done in the last years we have documented the world scene, this has helped too. I would not accept the explanation (this in answer to W. W.) that we did not attack the trade union leadership, therefore "we hold back." Our history shows that we made "a profession" of this type "of attack" on the trade union leadership. This in the past showed a lack of confidence in the working class. This was really a syndicalist concept. Also, the Party was generally weak in mass work. We have

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thousands of Communists in the trade unions but they sometimes succumb to difficulties. We can't underestimate those difficulties. But worse, later they succumbed to ideological difficulties and became passive. How can the Party use the Archie Brown court decision? Each case, of course, is different in each area. But we must get to the crux of the question and we must ask ourselves how does it apply to my union? What can we do to change the atmosphere in my union? Which is different than Archie Brown's union? This is the central point in our trade union policy; how to "change the ideological outlook of my union."

Now, on political action; COPE (Committee of Political Education of AFL-CIO) remains an instrument but is really not a complete political instrument. It is limited to a part of the organized working class. How to break out, is the question, and at the same time, how to build "parallel organizations" to widen independent political action of the working masses.

Regarding the left: This left that we are talking about today is different than in the 1930's and 1940's. There will be a "new left" in the trade unions too, but that will be different than the old left. The Negro workers are a new phase and we must pay more attention to them. We must also pay more attention to the Catholic workers. In the old days we used to fight the Catholic workers, we can no longer underestimate this new situation and the role these workers play. We must rule out sectarianism of the past on these problems if we want to influence trade unions. Even some priests who fought us in the past will join with us to change the trade unions from their passive position today to more active position on questions of the day (Rev. Rice from Pittsburgh who used to fight Communists, today he would probably join with us in the general movement).

On how to assess a good "domestic policy", and separate it from a bad foreign policy - this is the problem. This is the basic problem with the Johnson Administration. It has a so-called good domestic policy in the eyes of the people and a bad foreign policy. We can't solve this problem completely. Sometimes it will be by the flip of a coin - whether to support this or that candidate, but under no circumstances will we apologize for the war policies of any candidate. We must fight to influence the policy of the candidates in a positive way and get them to change these bad policies. We must not underestimate the peace feelings of the electorate. If we do we will fail to give leadership.

We must do everything possible to influence the situation and not underestimate the peace feelings of the electorate. We should explain that if a politician shifts his position on war, he will also shift his position on domestic economic issues and join with, or get closer to the reactionaries.

The test of this meeting is not if we report back to our local organizations, but rather if we will be able to convince our cadre, politically and ideologically, to face new realities in the positive spirit.

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Notes on Danny Rubin's Report on the Convention Schedule
and the preparations for the convention

1) The convention of the Party will be held in New York beginning Thursday, June 23 through June 26.

2) The public nature of the convention affects the size of the convention, therefore we suggest 300 delegates, representing the various districts, and 150 alternate delegates. Also a proposal for 300 Party guests and 300 non-Party guests. These non-Party guests should be of help to the convention. It will be difficult then to say who is a Communist and who is not a Communist.

3) We have no detailed proposals regarding TV and radio to voice the convention, but these are being worked out.

4) A mass meeting attended by several thousand people will be organized on the eve of the convention.

5) The character of discussion. It should be a discussion with wide latitude. We will publish a special paper or bulletin for this and will utilize the pages of "Political Affairs." The official convention call will be issued on February 15, 1966. The National Board and the Secretariat will present not only the general resolution that is before you but will also present resolutions on trade unions, on the Negro and civil rights, on peace, youth, etc. We will also prepare resolutions concerning the constitution of our Party. A youth resolution is being prepared and will be sent out to the Party membership. This resolution is being prepared by the youth, it is not fully ready.

We will also have a meeting of the National Board that will review the leadership, and this question of leadership too will be presented to the Party for discussion. The final date for submission of articles for the convention discussion will be June 10th, unless a state convention is being held later, then a special subcommittee of the National Board will process these for publication later than the deadline. We suggest that state conventions should be held in May or early June. We will set up a convention preparations committee and this committee will include people from other districts besides the leaders of the Secretariat and the National Board. There is a nucleus committee composed of --- , --- , --- ,

--- , We will make additions to this committee. These comrades will be in charge of technical arrangements for housing accommodations, etc.

We propose a committee to listen to appeals made up of --- , --- , and ---- . Others will be added.

We will also issue invitations to other fraternal parties from various parts of the world to come to our convention. The Secretariat is working out these proposals now.

Convention representation will be based on proportionate membership of each district. Every district is entitled to one delegate regardless of its size. In addition, it is entitled to one delegate for every 20 dues payments, if the membership is

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100; 30 for 100-150; 5 for every 300 and beyond. This is to cut level of control by the big districts.

National Committee members would run as delegates to the convention in the different districts. If they are not elected, they would have a voice at the national convention but no vote. A referendum of the Party membership is in order and will be undertaken in order to allow the youth to participate. The present constitution demands two years' membership before being a delegate, therefore we have to change it. We want the final results of the referendum by March 1st. These constitutional rules apply to the districts. They too are going to change national representation to 6 months membership and the district representation of delegates to 3 months membership. Any new organization that is formed 3 months before the convention is entitled to representation. This is based on the constitution.

The budget for the national convention calls for minimum expenditure for the 3 days of \$30,000. This would not take into consideration transportation and per diem. We will let the districts handle the per diem disbursements. The convention assessment will be equivalent to 3 months' dues. The Secretariat will have to work out ways and means to raise additional money because the assessment will not cover the expenses of the convention. All other proposals in connection with convention will go to the Secretariat.

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The date for the dues averages will be based on
dues payments from October 1, 1965, to March 31, 1966.

Notes on report of Hy Lumer - Confidential

The draft document before you was prepared so that you can further elaborate upon it and later with your additions can be given to the Party for its pre-convention discussion. This draft was discussed at the National Board the other day and we agreed to issue it. Some comrades ask, why do we need a general resolution, especially since we are presenting a Party Program? And, some say, why not specific resolutions on this or that subject? First, it is necessary to remember that a general political resolution is customary in the Party to be introduced at Party conventions. This has been our practice ever since we have recorded minutes. The need for this resolution grows out of the basic features of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Our Party, the CPUSA, is an organization based on the scientific theory of society known as Marxism-Leninism. Our policies do not consist of fragments. For this reason, it is necessary at the time of a convention to examine what is the state of affairs in our country, in the international world movement, the relation of classes and relation of movements to each other. And on the basis of this examination, to draw conclusions. This is the function and purpose of a general resolution such as you have before you. The fact that we are publishing the program has complicated this problem. Yet, this second major document is not superfluous. Our program does not negate the resolution. At the October 1965

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National Board meeting. Gus said that a resolution is different than a program. Parenthetically, he said, a program is only a broad outline. Resolutions deal with specific present situations. Comrade Gus Hall's report at this meeting dovetails with the resolution. Some comrades felt that since the program will deal with some underlying problems, a briefer draft resolution was needed. In our opinion, this draft resolution is not big. The way it is presented, it is numbered, and the problems are dealt with in a thesis form. This draft was subjected to sharp criticism at the National Board and some changes were suggested. Our last convention (that was held in December 1959) correctly noted the change in the relation of forces on a world scale. Since then these changes have proceeded further in the world and in the United States. The aggressiveness of U. S. imperialism is also greater. This shows the dialectical conflict and the back-drop for our policies as Gus indicated, and as you will see in the resolution, because it is different than the resolution we adopted in 1959. Yet, we emphasize that the war in Vietnam should not detract from the menace of West German imperialism and the danger of war in Europe. The economic situation in our country points to growing struggles.

In the criticisms offered of the resolution at the National Board, inadequacies in our economic analysis were pointed out. Some said that (1) the resolution does not show

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movement of people for economic demands nor does it dramatize the events. (2) Regarding the civil rights movement, the draft resolution does not clearly enough show the victories attained. (3) The resolution does not go far enough regarding the gains of our Party. (4) The resolution is not sufficiently a guide to action. It deals with problems too much in summary sections. (5) The resolution, some comrades said, does not deal enough with monopoly capitalism. (6) More elaboration is needed on the struggle against the ultra-right. There are some imperfections in our policies in connection with the struggle against the reactionary ultra-right, although our policies are generally correct. (7) Some said we left out the international developments in the Communist movement. We left out the problem of the terror against the civil rights movement and the Negroes in the South. We left out the Puerto Rican problem, the Mexican-Americans, etc. Also, some comrades are critical of the inadequacies of formulations. We therefore agreed at the National Board to some amendments on page 13 on our position to the organized labor movement and the Communist work in the trade unions, we will say it would be wrong to regard all labor leaders as one monolithic reactionary mass. Moreover, the rank and file is discontented and for this reason we have to put more emphasis on the question of leadership and rank and file, without using the wide brush. Some problems have been created

by the existence of our new program, and, of course, time.

It is seven years since our last Party convention. Nevertheless, the National Board proposes a more comprehensive general political resolution. Therefore our proposal is that this meeting suggest (1) that the Secretariat prepares the final draft of this resolution, and (2) that the timing of the release of this draft resolution should take place sometime after we get an initial reaction to the Party program.

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Notes on Discussion by Gil Green

I am in complete agreement with Gus's report.

I am happy to see this because in the past I was not always in agreement. The report means that 1966 is the year of change. This is the year when things must be done. They must be done now, this year, or they will not be done at all. This must be a year of the leap. For this, we need an ideological shake-up of the Party. Next, we must analyze if we are in a period of ebb or flow. Those comrades who compare the present period with the Korean War are completely wrong. At the time of the Korean War in the 1950's, the Progressives were defeated. Today, during the war of Vietnam, the reactionaries are on the defensive, which is quite a contrast. I agree with Gus that we need the youth. Of course, we do. But I want to give you an example. Keep in mind that Muste is 81 years old, but he is not considered "old." The fact is, it's work that counts. There should be more emphasis on self activity of the masses. This is more important than the statements of leaders. I want to emphasize that there is a left revival in our country. There is a new left. Some comrades oppose the concept of the left. They counterpoise this by saying that we need a broader movement, we need the left. And as the movement broadens, it changes this left. You will recall that last April, Muste criticized the demonstration in Washington, but Muste has changed since April 17. Yesterday

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at the Manhattan Center, in the mass meeting on Vietnam, our spokesman, Herbert Aptheker, appeared openly with Muste sitting on the stage. When a movement goes forward, even the anti-Communists will go along. Therefore, I would emphasize that the unity of the left is most important. The left can serve as a magnet to attract others. The Manhattan Center mass meeting would not be so large if only Herbert Aptheker was the speaker. Unless we have a left, we cannot build the Party. I repeat, ideology is most important. We cannot be mere technicians. We must give basic answers to the people. We must point to the forces that will make the changes in our society. We must not only name the present system, but we must indicate the future system, that is Socialism.

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Notes on report of Herb Aptheker

This was a good trip to Vietnam. I am now being called "Hanoi kid." My wife kids me about this too. The CP in Vietnam was delighted to have a representative from our Party, the CPUSA. We established the closest fraternal relations with them and steps have been undertaken to assure this relationship.

I here want to report that in Vietnam the unity of the people is great. The masses of people are armed. Everyone carries a weapon of one kind or another. While I was in Hanoi, the "Herald Tribune" phoned me and asked if there was excitement in Hanoi. I answered, no, there is no excitement there, everything seems to be calm. Then they asked me was there any animosity towards white Americans, and I answered, no, on the contrary, the Communists, through their Party, fostered internationalism, and they say that they are not at war with the U. S. or its people. They even say, or admit, that they will not defeat the U. S. They just want to get rid of the military occupation. When the Vietnamese talk of a military defeat of the U. S., they only have this in mind, the evacuation of the American troops, not the actual defeat of these troops. The Vietnamese are a nation people. They want good relations with all neighbors. They were invaded many times in the past; they are therefore opposed to invasions. In ancient days after centuries of struggles, they defeated the Chinese invaders,

and they constructed special ships outfitted in regal style and then shipped the generals home to China on these special ships in order to let the Chinese save face. Independence of the Vietnamese means independence for North and South. They have been one country for 5000 years. The official boundary has no meaning to them. The Prime Minister of North Vietnam conveyed to me his joy at the presence of a representative of the American Communists and other peace-loving representatives. The General Secretary of the Party talked to us about the peace movement in the U. S. He was greatly appreciative of this movement. They are not concerned about what slogans we use. In fact, the General Secretary of the Party pointed out that the slogans that the Vietnamese use in Saigon itself are no better, no more advanced than the slogans we use in the U. S. For example, if the Communists in Saigon or on the National Liberation Front in Saigon, or any other movement, want a change of government, or demand resignation of this or that official, that is considered important too. The only thing they are concerned with is the existence of a peace movement in every country. I did not see HO Chi-minh. Uncle HO was out visiting the villages. This is the tradition because of the Lunar New Year. He not only meets with the villagers in general, but meets with families, for this, too, is in tradition. The Vietnamese are very cordial people. They are very polite. When they speak, they rarely speak above a whisper, they do not

shout. We had a meeting with one of the leaders of the NLF. This person did speak in a louder voice, so we allow for the heroes of the NLF to shout, but later one of these leaders apologized to us for his tone of voice, and said that he is nervous, that some of his other comrades were undoubtedly suffering from combat fatigue, etc. The Vietnamese are overjoyed because of our fraternal relations. The Party in Vietnam, I found out, is a very broad organization. It is really a multi-party organization, even if it is organized into one Party. For in the ranks and in the leadership, they not only have Communists and Marxist-Leninists, but Catholics and Buddhists. The Vietnamese Party shows a great devotion to the resolutions adopted by the conferences of the world CP's in 1957 and 1960. The Vietnamese pay homage to the Socialist fraternal parties and the states and to all CP's in the capitalist world and they thank all these governments and parties for their help.

Then there were questions asked. I was asked what about the charges that the Chinese are holding up and hindering the flow of Soviet material aid to Vietnam? What about the slogan on negotiations, what did the Vietnamese say about this?

Aptheker: There is no discussion of the split in the international movement in Vietnam. They can be silent about their problem. Although on the streets of Hanoi or wherever you go, 90 per cent of the vehicles are Soviet made, 65 per cent

of the machinery in the factories comes from the Soviet Union, and another good percentage comes from Czechoslovakia. Obviously they are getting some help and they showed their appreciation. When the Vietnamese say they defeated the U. S. military, on the ground, they do say that this is due to the help that they received from the USSR. They do not discuss this problem of getting equipment through. We asked them but they would not discuss it.

Now, on the slogans regarding negotiations, I repeat, they told us, use anything that will involve people. We don't care what kind of a slogan it is. Do not ape us, or repeat our slogans; what is good for us, may not be good for you, and I repeat, they said that if in Saigon they say, down with the Premier, or sometimes they say, down with U. S. imperialism, as far as the North Vietnamese and the Communists are concerned, that is OK with them. They object to some proposition put forth by a U. S. governmental body of state that explained why they oppose it, but they said we do not have to give these explanations or apologize, meaning the American Communists, the American peace movement. The Prime Minister of North Vietnam categorically said that there are no VDR troops in the South. That the story about the presence of troops from the North is a pure fabrication. Now I must tell you a little something about the bombing of North Vietnam. The bombing of North Vietnam was no joke. It was a very

serious matter. We saw the damage and we saw that the bombing was indiscriminate and it hit all sections of the population, not only bridges, railroads, factories, etc. We saw pagodas, schools, hospitals and homes destroyed by American bombs. Not only did they drop bombs, but the U. S. used phosphorous bombs and people will testify that we never used these bombs in World War II, but the U. S. was using phosphorous bombs in North Vietnam. But now, he said, the U. S. is not using phosphorous bombs and this may be due to the pressure of world opinion exposing the barbarous methods of the U. S. Let us not underestimate the fact of the stopping of the bombing. Our slogan should be, the bombing should not be resumed. At a banquet held the other night by the SANE, Gottlieb, Congressman Ryan and Senator Mc Govern, Dr. Speck and Norman Thomas said the same thing, the bombing should stop. When the bombing stops, it paves the road for further discussion and prevents the expanding of the war.

Then he said he was interviewed by the "New York Times" magazine and that the article will appear any week now; that he was on the Columbia Broadcasting radio network on the West Coast for an hour, that there are plans and negotiations now for him and the delegation to reach out across the country. Then he said he wrote nine articles for "The Worker." Mentioned how he tried to get the articles to New York while in Hanoi, that he had even

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phoned Moscow to talk to Esther Shields. Said that when
the people organized meetings in other cities that they
should try to invite all three, or at least two of them
together.

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On the Distribution of the Program, CPUSA

After a great deal of labor the program is at the printers and we will be ready to launch it formally on the 15th of February, although we may have some copies a little earlier. Working on a plan for distribution. Title is "New Program, CPUSA," with subtitle "A Draft." It will sell for 95 cents, but will be available to Party organizations for 25 to 35 cents. A goal of 50,000 copies for the first edition of the paper book is our aim. We are also trying to print it in serial form in "The Worker." That is now only under consideration.

1) Will issue a national press release for all papers at time of launching.

2) Preparations are underway to send review copies to all newspapers, magazines, commentators on radio and TV.

3) Will call a press conference in New York with Gus Hall as the main speaker.

4) Local press conferences with national leaders participating should be organized.

5) Steps are being undertaken for radio and TV appearances.

6) An extensive advertising campaign is being prepared.

7) Public meetings in all districts of the Party should be called for the launching of this program.

8) Promotional pieces of literature for mailing to libraries, universities, professors, colleges, etc., will be sent out, with a request for orders.

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9) A widespread campaign will be launched to get the program into as many bookstores as possible.

The proposal for distribution will take place through "New Outlook," and all orders for the program should be placed with New Outlook. (1) We should aim to get copies to all Party members and all members should take at least five copies of the program and we will advertise this in the following way: "5 for 4" - which means: Buy 5 for the price of 4. (2) There will be a national mailing of 10,000 copies of the program to very prominent people. In addition, we propose local mailings with concentration upon trade union leaders, Negro leaders and leaders of peace movements, etc.

On the study of the program: (1) A study outline is now being prepared. (2) Initial discussions in the districts by the leadership should be organized and invitations extended to our national leadership. (3) We should strive for the organization of public discussions of all kinds, forums, debates, meetings, radio, TV, colleges, universities, teach-ins, etc. (4) Discussions in written form, in "Political Affairs," in supplements, and "The Worker" pages will be open too for discussions. "Political Affairs" will furnish a supplement called "Political Affairs Supplement," which will be open for discussions of the program. Suggestions, ideas, etc., from the CP all over the country for further wide distribution of the program,

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New Pamphlets Being Published Now

- 1) Pamphlet based on Gus Hall's speech at Columbia University.
- 2) Pamphlet by George Meyers dealing with the South.
- 3) Pamphlet or folder by James Jackson made up of a series of articles and editorials dealing with Meany, Roy Wilkins, and terror in the South.

F B I

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date, 1/24/66

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)
 SUBJECT: SOLO
 IS-C

Re NY airtel 1/10/66, reflecting that according to WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the Canadian CP, two documents dated October 18th and November 5th respectively, referring to "the internal squabble in the Far East", would be made available to the CP, USA.

On 1/24/66, there was received at a New York mail drop from the Canadian CP two documents, one dated October 18, 1965, and the other dated November 5, 1965, both addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Both letters are communications from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Copies of the said documents are attached hereto for the Bureau and Chicago.

It is assumed that these documents were forwarded to the CP of Canada by TIM BUCK, Chairman Emeritus of the Canadian CP, who was recently in Vietnam as head of a Canadian CP delegation.

3-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
 1-Chicago (13446 Sub B) (AM RM)
 1-New York (100-134637) (41)

ACB:eac

(6)

4 ENCLOSURE

REC 35

6 JAN 23 1966

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

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Per _____

65 FEB 4 1966

October 18, 1965

The Central Committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has received and studied the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union dated September 18, 1965.

The armed conflict between India and Pakistan involves a major question of right and wrong, of aggression and resistance to aggression. For a socialist country it is an important question of principle of whether or not one should distinguish right from wrong in the conflict between India and Pakistan, and whether or not one should support the victim of aggression against the aggressor. On this question there is a serious difference between you and us.

The current conflict between India and Pakistan was provoked by India at the instigation of U.S. imperialism. It was India that violated the agreement

- 1 -
ENCLOSURE 100-408091-5325

reached earlier between India and Pakistan on the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue through a plebiscite by unilaterally declaring Kashmir to be "an inalienable part" of India. It was India that first crossed the India-Pakistan cease-fire line and carried out war provocations. It was India that first crossed the international boundary between India and Pakistan in a general armed attack on Pakistan. It is crystal clear to all people throughout the world who love peace and uphold justice that India is the aggressor and Pakistan the victim of aggression.

The Indian aggression against Pakistan is not an isolated or fortuitous incident. Back in 1962 India made a large-scale armed attack on China. India's repeated aggressions against her neighbours in violation of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference are the inevitable consequence of the Indian reactionaries' entry into the service of U.S. imperialism and of their pursuit of a policy of expansionism.

The objective fact that India has committed aggression against Pakistan should be the starting point for every socialist country in determining its attitude on the conflict between India and Pakistan.

The Communist Party of China has adopted a principled stand on this question, drawing a clear line between right and wrong. We resolutely oppose the expansionism of the Indian reactionaries and sternly condemn their aggression against Pakistan, and we firmly support Pakistan in her resistance to Indian aggression and support the people of Kashmir in their just struggle for national self-determination. This stand of ours is entirely in accord with the interests of safeguarding world peace and with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

On February 24, 1964, Comrade Chou En-lai gave a comprehensive explanation of our stand on the dispute between India and Pakistan at a special session of the Provincial Assembly of West Pakistan. He said:

It is entirely possible to settle the dispute left over by history among the Asian-African countries fairly and reasonably in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference and in a spirit of equality and friendly consultation. In the settlement of these disputes, it is not permissible to

act truculently and impose one's will on others, still less to bully others by relying on outside forces.

He also expressed the hope that "the Kashmir dispute will be resolved in accordance with the wishes of the people of Kashmir as pledged to them by India and Pakistan". Comrade Chou En-lai made it very clear that we support self-determination by the people of Kashmir, stand for a peaceful settlement of the dispute between India and Pakistan and oppose the bullying of others by relying on outside forces. The problem now is that India has repudiated her pledge of self-determination for the Kashmiri people, rejected peaceful consultation, relied on foreign forces to bully Pakistan and brazenly launched armed aggression against Pakistan. In these circumstances, of course we support Pakistan against the Indian aggressors. Our stand is consistent and perfectly correct. In your letter, you deliberately distort our stand by quoting Comrade Chou En-lai out of context. This is a clumsy trick.

As against our Marxist-Leninist stand, you base yourselves on the general line of Soviet-U.S.

collaboration for the domination of the world and feign neutrality, but in collaboration with U.S. imperialism you have in fact supported the Indian aggressors.

Distorting the facts about the conflict between India and Pakistan, you have strenuously tried to interpret it as having been provoked by Pakistan. On September 6, Indian troops crossed the international boundary and launched a large-scale attack on Pakistan. Yet in its statement of September 7, Tass first said that "Pakistani troops ... have advanced several dozen kilometres into Indian territory" and only then went on to say that Indian troops had crossed the international boundary. Moreover, disregarding the facts about the Indian reactionaries' armed aggression against neighbouring countries, you have done your best to embellish them by asserting that they have shown "devotion to the policy of peace and peaceful coexistence" and that their "policy of non-alignment has earned broad international recognition". Publicly trying to justify India's criminal aggression, you have cast the elementary principles of international relations to the four winds.

In collusion with the United States, you have cooked up in the Security Council of the United Nations a cease-fire resolution which is partial to the Indian aggressor. This resolution, which does not in the least condemn India for her aggression, ignores the previous agreements between India and Pakistan on Kashmir and keeps silent about the correct principle for resolving the Kashmir issue on the basis of self-determination, meets the demands of Indian expansionism.

Your united action with the United States in the Security Council has won the applause of the U.S. imperialists and the Indian reactionaries. Rusk has commended your action as being "constructive" and Shastri has praised you as being "most helpful". Such being your complicity with U.S. imperialism, it is small wonder that the Western bourgeois press is unanimous in saying that you have "a common interest" with the United States, that you have "linked up" with and are "on the same side" as the United States, and that there has been "a historic development" in Soviet-U.S. cooperation. Don't you see the deep disgrace this represents for the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state?

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You have consistently supported the expansionism of the Indian reactionaries. For ten years, you have invariably supported the Indian reactionaries' attempts to annex Kashmir, repeatedly asserting that Kashmir is "an inalienable part" of India and opposing the Kashmiri people's just struggle for national self-determination. Following India's provocation of the recent armed conflict, you again stated that the Soviet stand on this question "remains unchanged". For six years, you have invariably supported the Indian reactionaries' fantastic territorial claims on China and have tried to force China to yield to Indian expansionism. Throughout this period you have supplied the Indian reactionaries with large-scale military aid in support of their expansion at the expense of neighbouring countries. You have given India whatever she wants and allowed her to use your aid in any manner she thinks fit. This stand of yours is a complete betrayal of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Lenin said, "Ascertaining the character of a war is, for the Marxist, a necessary prerequisite for solving the question of his attitude towards it".

Discarding Lenin's teachings, in your letter you have objected to distinguishing between right and wrong on the question of the conflict between India and Pakistan, alleging that "there is no positive significance in seeking out who is right and who is to blame". You do not distinguish between right and wrong in this conflict yourselves, and you forbid others to do so. Your purpose is obviously to reverse right and wrong in order to cover up India's criminal aggression and your own inveterate erroneous stand of support for Indian aggression.

In your letter, you indiscriminately assert that the conflict between India and Pakistan is "harmful in all respects" and that our just stand of support for Pakistan in her struggle against aggression "serves to aggravate the conflict" and "saddens all who stand for peace and fight for national liberation". This is the height of absurdity. The conflict between India and Pakistan has two aspects.-- India's aggression and Pakistan's resistance to aggression. In this conflict all the harm to which you refer has been caused by India's aggression. It is the Indian aggression that has breached the peace of this area,

dealt a blow to the cause of Afro-Asian unity against imperialism and damaged the interests of the peoples of India and Pakistan. To eliminate these evils, it is imperative to oppose the Indian aggression. It is the stand you have taken in support of Indian expansionism that has encouraged India's aggressive venture and aggravated the conflict. You carry grave responsibility for all the evils caused by the Indian aggression. On the other hand, the stand we have taken in support of Pakistan against Indian aggression helps to check the aggression of the Indian reactionaries and to safeguard peace, and is in the interests of the cause of Afro-Asian unity against imperialism and of the peoples of India and Pakistan. Our stand is welcomed and supported by all peace-loving people and all fighters for national liberation, and it is detrimental only to the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys. Why then should you be "saddened" by it?

In your letter, you shamelessly talk about struggle "against the principal enemy -- American imperialism". But as everyone knows, India has launched aggression against Pakistan for the purpose not only of realizing her own expansionist designs, but of helping the United States to exert pressure on Pakistan.